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# california HISTORY

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Executive Director  
DAVID CROSSON

EDITOR  
JANET R. FIREMAN

MANAGING EDITOR  
SHELLY KALE

REVIEWS EDITOR  
JAMES J. RAWLS

DESIGN/PRODUCTION  
MARIAN UEKI

#### EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

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## FROM THE EDITOR

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Manuscripts for publication and editorial correspondence should be sent to Janet R. Fireman, Editor, *California History*, History Department, Loyola Marymount University, One LMU Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90045-8415. Manuscripts should be typed, double-spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions of the authors. Books for review should be sent to James Rawls, Reviews Editor, California Historical Society, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014.

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A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

California Historical Society  
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We need only poke below the . . . surface to discover an obstinately rich loam of memory.

—Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*

Most of the earth is ocean, but most of our world is land.

We are terrestrial animals, and the ties that bind us are based in terra firma. Though we may fly the skies and sail the seas or dive to its depths, we course the land with greater comfort and assurance. This is the way things are for humans. It is our natural way; we are land creatures.

Our eye-view is of the land. Though we may search the heavens in wonder and look out to sea whenever we can, anywhere and all the time our gaze is drawn to the magical point: At the horizon, sky meets geography. During leisure-time, daydream-time, meditation-time, such proclivities are common, carrying us away from our cares and woes. But daily, our focus is on the land with its usual surroundings, whether it's home or school or workplace, or on the road there or to other locations for travel or leisure.

In this issue, three researchers have unearthed very distinct stories from California's soil. The riverine town of Requa, for centuries part of the Yurok Tribe homelands, is perched at a defining estuary in far northwestern California. In "The Salmon People: Crisis and Continuity at the Mouth of the Klamath," Stephen Most spins out the Yuroks' unbroken occupation of this region and their remarkable persistence in the face of repeated dire challenges to river and land.

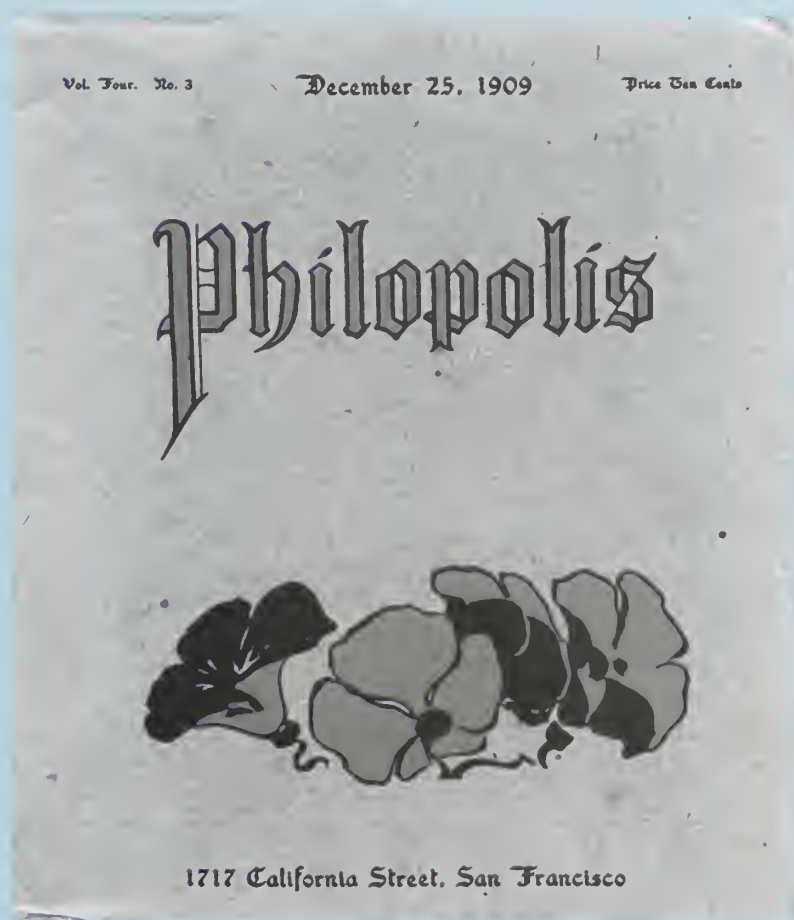
"Managing a National Crisis: The 1924 Foot-and-Mouth Disease Outbreak in California" explores state and national responses to the epidemic that began in Alameda County and quickly spread to Contra Costa, Solano, and Napa counties, and then beyond. Kendrick A. Clements lays down a quasi-familiar tale of infected livestock, quarantines, closed borders, and, sadly, mass slaughters and burials of thousands of cattle, hogs, sheep, and horses. A cattle dealer from Merced visiting the outbreak site in West Berkeley inadvertently carried the infection home to the Central Valley on his boots. Through contact with the soil, the crisis grew.

At Timber Cove in northern Sonoma County, on a patch of ground that might be called sacred if wishes came true, eccentric San Francisco sculptor Benny Bufano planted a "sky-scraping peace statue." He designed and crafted *The Expanding Universe* using concrete, lead, and mosaic to form his frequently portrayed symbols: the Madonna, Universal Child, and an outstretched hand. E. Breck Parkman's essay, "Missiles of Peace: Benny Bufano's Message to the World," explains Bufano's cry for humanity's future in the midst of the cold war. Now, a half-century later, that 93-foot-tall projectile, facing west from the California shore, again beckons the nation and the world to heed the call for peace.

JANET R. FIREMAN, *Editor*



## COLLECTIONS



### *Philopolis: "Love of the City"*

Fine examples of graphic design and illustration can be found in many nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century West Coast periodicals with imaginative titles such as *The Lark*, *The Land of Sunshine*, and *Sunset*. One of the best was *Philopolis*, a monthly magazine published "for

those who care" by Arthur Frank Mathews and Lucia Kleinhans Mathews from 1906 to 1919.

The Mathews housed *Philopolis* Press, which published the magazine, books, and ephemera, on the first floor of the Furniture Shop at 1717 California Street in San Francisco. Designed by

Arthur Mathews, the craftsman-style brown-shingle building was the city's first structure erected to house artists' studios following the 1906 earthquake and fire.

The Mathews were part of a group of artists, architects, and city

(continued)

## COLLECTIONS

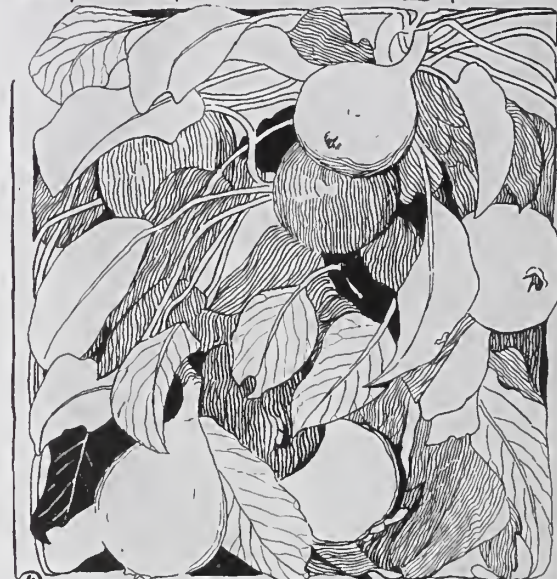


**S**AN FRANCISCO has the promise of a "World's Fair" staring her in the face; and at the moment we are wondering what form this tenth or eleventh wonder of the earth is to take to itself. Hearing of the colossus of Rhodes, an insipid imagination would forthwith yearn for the creation of a straddling goat or pig with feet in four counties—a tunnel or two within, an elevator and a rapid transit system concentrated in the left eye. The French, much given to exhibitions and, much experienced thereby, usually eliminate these extraordinary features of contorted visualistic second impressions—if I may so describe them—by instituting a grand general competition of "ideas." This over with, and "glorious imagination" disposed of, the committee in charge gets down to real business.

I saw the Paris Exposition of 1889 in creation—from the turning of the first sod to opening day (two years later), when the sight-seeing multitude nearly starved to

64

The fruit-trees bend as though foredoomed to break  
With burden heavier than their strength can bear



And if the faintest zephyr seem to shake,  
Drop down an apple now and now a pear

From drawing by Lucia M. Mathews

*With lovely covers and bindings, tasteful advertisements, and intricate borders and initials surrounding thoughtful essays and inspirational texts, Philopolis featured landscape and botanical illustrations, such as this drawing of pears by Lucia Mathews.*

ILLUSTRATION FROM "ART AND BUSINESS," *PHILOPOLIS*, VOL. 4, NO. 3 (DECEMBER 25, 1909): 64–68

planners who came together to incorporate the aesthetics of the burgeoning Arts and Crafts movement in the rebuilding of San Francisco. Through their furniture making, interior design, and publications, they disseminated the movement's high aesthetic and artistic standards.

Often used to denote a style of architecture, interior design, and decorative arts that prevailed in the United States from 1890 to 1925, the Arts and Crafts movement sought to reunite what was perceived as lost in the industrialization of the nineteenth century, focusing on craftsmanship and the beauty

of handmade objects. The Mathews are credited with further defining the movement and fusing it with early European modernism to create the California Decorative Style. Their beautifully designed and printed books, note cards, calendars, and bookmarks are now prized as collectors' items.



# Salmon People: Crisis and Continuity at the Mouth of the Klamath

By Stephen Most

The mouth of the Klamath River has been a source of stories for a long time. The town of Requa on the north bank above the estuary may be the only indigenous village site in California continuously inhabited by members of the same tribe for centuries. Yurok Indians, whose ancestors lived there long before Europeans first came to the Americas, remain in Requa today. They no longer inhabit plank houses made of redwood with oval doorways leading to underground chambers. A scattering of frame houses, a network of trails, a large hotel beside Requa Road, and boat landings below it are the existing incarnation of the ancient village of Rekwoi.<sup>1</sup>

The continuity of the Yurok tribe along the Klamath River is an anomaly in California history. Indian settlements that survived the era of Spanish missions in almost every case were overrun during the Gold Rush. Some tribes were removed to reservations, including one on the Lower Klamath. But the status of Yurok country as reservation land was ignored if not forgotten for most of the twentieth century.

The story of the reestablishment of the Yurok reservation and the renewal of Yurok culture is inseparable from the saga of Klamath River salmon, whose decline, dating back to the Gold Rush, has accelerated toward the point of no return in the early twenty-first century. Although Indian fishing has been blamed for causing this decline,

a review of Yurok history suggests that the survival of Klamath River wild salmon stocks may depend upon the efforts of a people who, unlike other California tribes, managed to remain in at least one of their ancestral villages against all odds.

## THE VILLAGE THAT SURVIVED

Contemporary knowledge of the precontact history of California's largest tribe<sup>2</sup> is due in part to the contributions of two Yurok men, Captain Spott (Haaganors) and his adoptive son, Robert. In 1900, when anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber first came to the Klamath River, Captain Spott, then an old man, became his informant. Decades later, Kroeber learned stories that Captain Spott told Robert during long sessions in the family sweathouse. Among these oral traditions is an account of a first encounter between Yuroks and European Americans.

According to Robert Spott, Requa Fanny, a contemporary of his father, told the captain "that she saw the first white people come to Welkwäu"—a village on the south bank of the estuary, across from Rekwoi. They arrived in "a large boat . . . with trees on it. She meant the masts of course. They landed in small boats." These non-Indians camped by Oregos, a giant rock on the north bank at the mouth of the river. "The people of Rekwoi went into hiding." But their curiosity was irresistible. "In the morning the people began to peep over the edge of the slope, and some of the children ventured down."

Fanny, who was "a good-sized girl then," was among them, wearing a basket cap. "A white man who was cooking took a potato from the ashes



*Town of Requa, ca. 1907. Clinging to a hillside on the north bank of the Klamath River estuary, where the river meets the Pacific Ocean, Requa (from the Yurok word "Rekwoi") was once a thriving Yurok village and home to salmon trollers from July to November. After non-Indians settled there, it prospered as a business center, its canneries, post office, stores, and livery stable enlivened by saloons and dance halls. In the early 1930s, most of the business activity moved three miles out to the new town of Klamath.*

SWANLUND-BAKER COLLECTION, HUMBOLDT STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. 1999.01.0599



and gave her half of it. She did not know what it was and put it in her cap. Then he gave her something with holes in it and gestured that she should eat it. It was hardtack. She tried it and it tasted like wood, she said. The other children called to her, 'You will die if you eat it.'"<sup>3</sup>

This episode, which took place in the 1840s, not long before the Gold Rush, was not the Yuroks' first exposure to non-Indians. In 1775, when a Spanish expedition commanded by Don Bruno de Hezeta y Dudagoitia landed in Trinidad Bay, four canoes carrying twenty-four members from the Yuroks' southernmost village, Tsurai, met his ships.<sup>4</sup> In 1827 fur traders with the Hudson's Bay Company entered Yurok country. The following year the explorer Jedediah Smith met Yuroks after traveling to the confluence of the Trinity and the Klamath rivers. They had iron arrow points and wanted to purchase knives. Yet Requa Fanny's encounter was the earliest known arrival of non-Indians into the estuary of the Klamath River. This meeting, more than three centuries after the conquest of Perú that gave Europeans the potato, was one of the last "first contacts" in North America.

In 1851 federal agents signed treaties with Indians throughout California, papering over the invasion of indigenous lands by gold seekers and pioneers. Headmen of five of the villages known today as Yürok put their marks on a document written in a language that they did not understand. In this manner they represented, without authorization, a group of people who did not recognize their shared membership in a "tribe" or any common entity other than what they called "the human world."<sup>5</sup>

Yet there were ties of language, culture, and family among these people, and despite the radical changes of the last century and a half, some of these ties have persisted. A number of pre-contact Yurok village sites located on or near the Klamath River are Yurok villages today. At least one, Rekwoi, has been inhabited by members of families that lived there since before the days of



*When anthropologist Alfred A. Kroeber (1876–1960) arrived at the Klamath River in 1900, the Yurok population was already in serious decline. Ten years later, only 610 would remain from approximately 2,500—victims of a post-Gold Rush era characterized by disease, malnutrition, massacre, and forced removal. Yurok leader Robert Spott, adopted son of Rekwoi "head man" Captain Spott, worked with Kroeber to document the tribe's traditional native life and culture. This image, taken at Requa ca. 1939, captures the working relationship of the two men, who published their findings as coauthors.*

COURTESY OF THE PHOEBE APPERSON HEARST MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, 15 19477



*Fishing boats at the mouth of Klamath River, viewed from the north (ca. 1918–33). According to legend, fishing rocks at the entrance to the river act as guides to the fish, who are dependent on a shifting river opening to find their way into and out of the estuary.*

ROBERTS PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, HUMBOLDT STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, RL76



gold. In 1877 Stephen Powers published a description of “the village of Rikwa,” which, he said, “tinkles with the happy cackle of brown babies tumbling on their heads with the puppies: and the fires within the cabins gleam through the round door holes like so many full-orbed moons heaving out of the breast of the mountains.”<sup>6</sup> Alfred Kroeber’s wife, Theodora, was referring to Yuroks of Rekwoi and other villages in 1900 when she wrote that “some, unlike most western Indians, were still living on their own ancestral land when Kroeber first reached them, their life physically much as it had been before the Gold Rush.”<sup>7</sup>

As mid-nineteenth-century gold seekers from around the world rushed into the hills, mountains, and valleys of northern California, how could an indigenous village have survived? In the case of Rekwoi, its location west of the major gold-mining areas in the Klamath Basin contributed to its survival. To get to the gold fields in the Trinity River Basin and along the Klamath upstream from its confluence with the Trinity, miners sailed to Humboldt Bay, then set off cross-country from the optimistically named city of Eureka, or they traveled farther north to Trinidad Bay where the southernmost Yurok village then existed.

Although the Yuroks were less directly affected by the miners’ incursions than the other Klamath River tribes, the effects of the Gold Rush were devastating all the same. In 1865 a surgeon reported to the federal government, “Those who saw the Klamath and Trinity rivers in early days say that during the summer months they ran as clear as crystal, and thronged with salmon from the sea; now they are muddy streams and almost deserted by the fish. [Indians] gaze sadly into the muddy waters, despoiled almost of their finny prey by the impurities from the sluice-boxes of the miners at the head of the stream. . . . Their salmon fishing is destroyed to a very great extent, and with it one of their chief means of subsistence.”<sup>8</sup>

“We had a beautiful life then.  
And nobody was ever hungry.  
We had a lot of fish. Nobody’s  
ever supposed to quarrel  
over fish. With Indian people,  
it’s a law. You don’t quarrel  
over fish.”

—Geneva Brooks Mattz, August 29, 1984,  
Klamath, California

MATTZ FAMILY INTERVIEWS: ORAL HISTORY TRANSCRIPTS CONDUCTED BY HELENE H. OPPENHEIMER, 1984–86, BANC MSS 92/94, THE BANCROFT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY VOLUME 1

Land along the Klamath River was of value, salmon or no salmon, and would-be settlers lost no time in trying to reap its rewards. On March 16, 1850, a brig from San Francisco, the *Cameo*, dropped men off north of the river. Climbing a coastal hill overlooking the north bank of the Klamath, the settlers’ party saw Yuroks for the first time. The men, who had been fishing, armed themselves with long knives while the women hid in the brush. But as the Yuroks’ leader made a lengthy speech to the newcomers, the women emerged and began inspecting them. A quick-thinking member of the party, Herman Ehrenberg, a surveyor and cartographer, took this opportunity to offer the women beads and trinkets. Eventually his group persuaded the Indians to ferry them across the river to the south bank. There they claimed 160 acres, naming their settlement Klamath City.

In October the *Pacific Daily News* of San Francisco extolled the potential of the new city: “The river abounds with the finest salmon, the valleys with deer and elk, the forest with a noble growth of



*Harry Roberts holds a catch with Alice Spott (ca. 1917). Harry, whose father was chief bookkeeper at the river's major commercial salmon cannery, was raised in the Yurok ways by Alice's brother, Robert. Alice, who as a medicine-trained woman was allowed to fish, wears her hair in the top knot of a warrior.*

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pine and redwood, fit for piles, spars or lumber. The mines of the Klamath and its tributaries, among which are the Salmon, Shasta, Trinity and Ross [later named the Scott] Rivers, are paying better than many other mining sections of California, [and] during the past months have averaged from one to three ounces of gold per day to a man."<sup>9</sup>

Thirty houses and stores went up in Klamath City, including a fort made of iron. But the settlement did not survive a year. Its inhabitants had hoped that large boats could anchor on the river bar or sail into the estuary and bring goods in from the sea. But that fall the ship *Tarquin* was wrecked attempting to cross into the river. In addition, twenty-nine settlers died. According to one account, they were killed either "by Indians or the river. The mushrooming camp became a ghost town overnight."<sup>10</sup>

In 1854 a Crescent City newspaper reported on a "war of extermination" against the Indians. That year thirty Indians were killed during a battle beside a north coast lagoon. In the Smith River Valley, settlers who feared an Indian uprising struck first, massacring between two and three hundred people, many of them Tolowas.

In 1855 a Sacramento paper noted that on the Klamath, Indians had killed six white men and some livestock. Who, the editor asked, "can determine their provocation or the amount of destitution suffered before the hostile blow was struck. The intrusion of the white man upon the Indians' hunting grounds has driven off the game and destroyed their fisheries. The consequence is, the Indians suffer every winter for sustenance. Hunger and starvation follows [sic] them wherever they go. Is it, then, a matter of wonder that they become desperate and resort to stealing and killing?"<sup>11</sup>

This remarkably sympathetic editorial was written during the heyday of legendary Indian fighter Ben Wright, when the state rewarded vigilantes with payments per Indian killed. Writing from Trinidad, the town that had sprung up on the



site of the Yuroks' southernmost village, a correspondent concluded that, "The fate of the Indian is fixed. He must be annihilated by the advance of the white man." Yet he made it clear that the Indians did not accept their fate. "I have no doubt there will be warm times on the Klamath for some weeks, as the Indians are numerous, well armed and determined to fight."<sup>12</sup>

Most of this fighting took place upriver of Yurok country. Nonetheless, Yuroks had reason to feel threatened, despite the failure of Klamath City. Many had married into families of Tolowas, who died by the coastal lagoon along the Smith River, and of Karuks, who were attacked upriver along the Klamath. Although they were spared a massacre, some Yuroks were shot on suspicion of colluding with other "hostiles," and two were hanged in retribution for the murder of a Mr. French.<sup>13</sup>

#### ADAPTING TO A NEW CIVILIZATION

Federal authorities attempted to bring order to this chaotic situation. In November 1855 the government established a reservation along the Klamath River on a strip one mile wide on each side and twenty miles upriver from the estuary. The intent was for the Indians to learn to grow crops and otherwise adapt to the civilization that now engulfed them. They were also allowed to sustain themselves through fishing. The first federally appointed Indian agent assigned to the reservation hired a Crescent City man to bring twine to make fishnets. He would bring agricultural implements, seeds, and construction tools as well.

Six miles from the mouth of the river the government established Fort Ter-Waw, or Terwer. Its purposes were to keep the Indians under observation and to serve as a buffer between them and the white man. Not all of the Indians on the Klamath River reservation were Yuroks. White soldiers marched Wiyot, Whilkut, Sinkyone, and Chilula Indians there from coastal mountains and valleys and flatlands to the south and prevented them from escaping to their homelands.

**"It seems like everything has changed in the years after the non-Indians came. We don't live like we used to. . . . We followed the rules of our people—when not to bother the fish. And we all had plenty."**

—*Geneva Brooks Mattz, September 25, 1984,  
Klamath, California*

MATTZ FAMILY INTERVIEWS: ORAL HISTORY TRANSCRIPTS CONDUCTED BY HELEN H. OPPENHEIMER, 1984–86, BANC MSS 92/94, THE BANCROFT LIBRARY UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, VOLUME 1

In April 1860, two months after the massacre of an entire village of Wiyots on Indian Island in Humboldt Bay, the reservation received 450 natives from that region. They were told, convincingly under the circumstances, "if they did not go willingly, force would be used, and any who attempted to evade the agent would be treated as enemies."<sup>14</sup>

Settlers complained that on the Klamath River reservation fine timber and good agricultural land were going to waste. A Mr. Bledsoe decried "the idiotic measures of the Indian Department" that left thousands of acres and immense resources "useless and idle." He acknowledged that the reservation was a necessity when three or four thousand Indians overran the country. But "as most of their warriors and braves sleep in the embrace of death there no longer remains any reason to fear them."<sup>15</sup> Nature intervened. During the winter of 1860–61, severe flooding wiped away most of the arable land near the river and



*The Lower Klamath River, where it meets the Pacific Ocean, and the land and waterways comprising the Yurok reservation (shaded area). Flowing 254 miles from Upper Klamath Lake in southern Oregon to its mouth at the Pacific Ocean near Requa, California, the Klamath is a major river of the American West, after the Columbia, Sacramento, and Colorado rivers.*

COURTESY OF THE OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY PRESS

MAP BY DEAN SHAPIRO

made Fort Ter-Waw uninhabitable, even by soldiers. Efforts to rebuild the fort were stopped by an order to build a new one north of Crescent City.

The status of the Klamath River reservation came into question in 1864 when Congress enacted a law limiting the number of reservations in California to four, including one in the Smith River Valley and one in Hoopa Valley. The law required abandoned reservations to be surveyed and the land to be sold at auction. Yet in 1866 the Indian commissioner described the Yurok reservation as "unsettled and wild, peopled almost exclusively by Indians, to whose wants and habits it is well adapted, supplying wild food and fish in abundance. Very little of it is tillable land, and whites will never care to settle upon it."<sup>16</sup> Twenty years later an Indian agent reported, "Nature seems to have done her best here to fashion a perfect paradise for these Indians, and to repel the approach of the white man."<sup>17</sup>

Some whites chose to settle there nonetheless. According to one description of Requa (the name that settlers gave the land comprising the Yurok village of Rekwoi), "There was plenty of room in the neighborhood; so the Indian houses were not too close together. This enabled the settlers when they came in to build the homes not to disturb the first inhabitants."<sup>18</sup>

Their claims to the land uncertain, settlers petitioned the federal government to grant them title. This dispute bounced between the Department of the Interior and Congress for many years. In 1891 an executive order resolved the discrepancy between the act of April 8, 1864, which authorized four reservations in California, and the de facto federal status of Indian country along the Klamath River. President Benjamin Harrison reestablished the Yurok reservation as an "extension" of the square-shaped reservation in Hoopa Valley, which the Trinity River runs through. His order linked the river-straddling Yurok strip to the Hoopa square by extending it upriver all the way to the confluence with the Trinity. The extension made the Yurok portion of the reservation look on



I STILL EAT ALL OF MY MEALS  
WITH A MUSSEL SHELL

SHAUNNA OTEKA MCCOVEY

**Creation stories**

*thespiritbeings*  
**have long been disputed**  
*emergedfrom*  
**by theories of**  
*theground*  
**evolution and**  
*atKenek*  
**strait crossings.**

**Because our rivers**

*halfbreedshave*  
**were once filled**  
*agodthatis*  
**with gold**  
*neitherIndian*  
**our women were violated**  
*orwhite*  
**in the worst imaginable way.**

**Only a few**

*prayersgo*  
**still know**  
*unheardwhen*  
**the formula that**  
*notspokenin*  
**will bring the salmon**  
*ournativetongues*  
**up the river.**

**If you cannot see**

*Istilleat*  
**between the lines**  
*allofmymeals*  
**then your collected facts**  
*witha*  
**will never constitute**  
*musselshell*  
**knowledge.**

SHAUNNA OTEKA MCCOVEY (Yurok/Karuk) wrote her first poem at the age of six while growing up on the Yurok Reservation in northern California. She holds master's degrees in social work and environmental law and a juris doctorate from Vermont Law School. Her poems and essays have appeared in *News from Native California*, *Through the Eye of the Deer*, *The Dirt Is Red Here: Art and Poetry from Native California*, *The Journal of Poverty*, and *Eating Fire, Tasting Blood: An Anthology of the American Indian Holocaust*. Her chapbook of poetry is titled *Swim You Every River*, and *The Smokehouse Boys* is her first full-length book of poetry.



*A Yurok fisherman holds an A-frame net, or dip net (ca. 1918–33), which was let down from a scaffolding built out over the water. The Yuroks fished nearly year-round, following specific regulations and traditions that conserved the river and its salmon. In 1912, following the introduction of canneries in the Klamath estuary by non-Indians, a single day's catch of 17,000 fish was recorded. By Spring 2006, the run of fall chinook was estimated at 25,000, spawning spring chinook were counted in the low hundreds, and coho remained on the endangered list.*

ROBERTS PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION, HUMBOLDT STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, RM87

the map like the tail of a kite. But the status of the non-Indian settlers there remained unresolved.

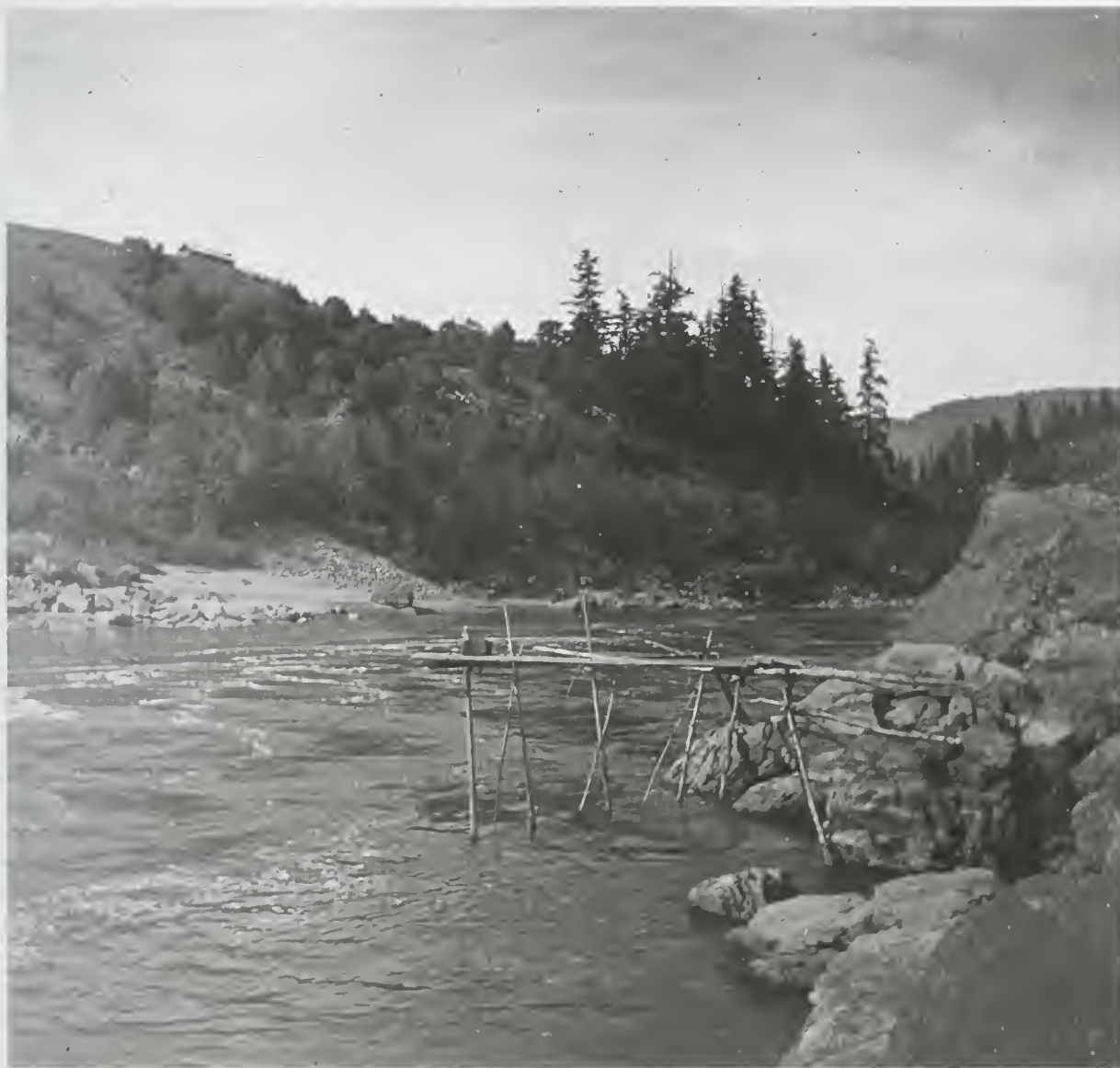
On the reservation, non-Indians built the village of Requa and developed an economy based on dairy cattle and salmon canning. Safford's Island, eighty-three fertile acres just east of the village (an island washed away entirely by the floods of 1955 and 1964), became a pasture. It had a baseball diamond and a field for the native stick game.

In 1876, shortly after the state legalized the sale of salmon caught in its northwestern counties, Martin Van Buren Jones established a fishery at the mouth of the Klamath. As he was not Indian, the army evicted him. So Jones moved his operation just beyond the boundaries of the reservation, up Hunter Creek. Yuroks accepted his presence there; he employed Indians to catch fish for him.

Jones's method of preserving fish was to salt them. That was also the practice of John Baumhoff, who set up his saltery a decade later on Hunter Creek. Baumhoff made an agreement with twenty-six Yurok fishermen whom fishery biologist Ronnie Pierce described as "the founders of the first Indian fisherman's union." Pierce explained that Baumhoff "agreed to provide nets and boats and to pay Indian workers ten cents for every salmon weighing over ten pounds. The participating Yurok fishermen agreed to fish for no other non-Indian operation."<sup>19</sup>

The salters and the Indians who fished for them soon faced competition from a man whose family introduced salmon canning to California: Robert Deniston Hume. Hume's father and grandfather had been pioneers in the salmon industry in Maine, but as that fishery was declining, Robert's brothers sought their fortune in the West. They brought with them a tinsmith, Andrew Hapgood, who had canned lobster meat. By the time Hume initiated his Klamath River fishery, his brothers were operating more than half of the canneries on the Columbia River. Selling thousands of cases of canned royal chinook every season, the brothers made their business second only to wheat farming in the Columbia Basin. The Klamath River, which produced more salmon than any American





*A fishing place in Yurok territory (ca. 1901–30). Individual, family, and community fishing places along the river provided regulated access to an essential part of the tribe's food supply. Individual or family ownership of fishing places could be transferred or sold, and joint ownership by several individuals or families was common. Dipping privileges often were extended to those who did not own a fishing place.*

COURTESY OF THE PHOEBE APPERSON HEARST MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, ETHNOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHS OF CALIFORNIA INDIAN AND SONORAN INDIAN SUBJECTS BY ALFRED L. KROEBER, 1901–1930, 15-1345

**“ . . . it was our traditional right [to fish]. . . The upper Indians came down and traded with the lower Indians for fish. It was a barter; but it was a commercial [way] to stay alive.”**

—Raymond Mattz, June 11, 1986,  
*Requa, California*

MATTZ FAMILY INTERVIEWS: ORAL HISTORY TRANSCRIPTS CONDUCTED BY HELENE H. OPPENHEIMER, 1984–86, BANC MSS 92/94, THE BANCROFT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, VOLUME 3

river besides the Columbia and the Sacramento, was an obvious venture for the Hume family.

There was one problem. In 1883, the Department of the Interior turned down Hume's application to fish inside the Yurok (then called the Klamath) reservation; that part of the river was an Indian fishery. Four years later, undaunted by this federal prohibition, Hume brought a steam-powered fishing boat into the estuary. He claimed that the reservation did not include the river itself. His rationale was that the waters of the Klamath were navigable and open to the public. "Brandishing a large-bore Henry Express rifle," Pierce wrote, "he quickly won the first argument with the local military sergeant."<sup>20</sup>

Hume then brought into the Klamath a barge that was large enough to sustain a fish-salting operation, though not a cannery, and to house its non-Indian workforce. Yurok fishermen who were working for the off-reservation salteries asked the government to intervene. It did so, but instead of taking up the issue of public versus reservation waters, Indian agents filed criminal charges against Hume for trading

with reservation Indians without a license. Because receipts showed that he had traded tea with the Indians, the court case was called *United States v. Forty-eight Pounds of Rising Star Tea*.<sup>21</sup>

Hume's attorneys won; the lawyer representing the United States failed to appear in court. The judge ruled that because the army had abandoned the reservation in 1862, the federal government no longer had jurisdiction there. President Harrison's executive order reestablishing the Yurok reservation as an extension of the Hoopa Valley reservation would resolve that issue. But was the river, including the riverbed, a part of the reservation? This was contested in another court case.<sup>22</sup> Since a purpose of the reservation had been to provide the Indians a place to subsist by exercising their fishing rights, the idea that the reservation would exclude the river seemed absurd. However, the judge did not address that matter, keeping alive the state's claim to jurisdiction over the waterway.

Meanwhile, Hume continued his operation. A homesteading bill in 1892 allowed him to purchase reservation land, and this he did, building a cannery and a store in Requa. Before long, canneries and other enterprises in the flourishing town were providing employment to the Indians.

Canning was a labor-intensive operation. Not only did workers butcher every salmon, they hand-pasted labels on the cans. And until 1907, every can packed with salmon was made by hand. Jimmy Gensaw, a Yurok from Pecwan Creek, worked as a tinsmith, making cans from a sheet of tin, which he cut with shears. Once machine-made cans became available, the canneries greatly increased their production.<sup>23</sup>

Geneva Mattz, a Yurok from Requa who was raised by her grandparents after her father died, recalled that Indians worked in two of the three canneries. The canneries, she told oral historian Helene Oppenheimer, were built out over the river "because they cleaned the fish there. There were just piles and piles of fish."<sup>24</sup>



An impression of the scale of the fishery comes from a news report in the *Del Norte TriPLICATE* that one evening so many fish were netted, the gill-netters had to stop working to give the cannery time to process them all. "Your correspondent visited the cannery and viewed the wonderful sight—more than ten thousand beautiful chinook salmon, many of them weighing as much as 40 to 50 pounds . . . As the fishermen receive 6<sup>1/2</sup> cents per pound, some of the boats made as high as \$200 for the evening's catch." The record for a single day's catch was set in 1912: 17,000 salmon.<sup>25</sup>

### FIGHTING FOR A FISHERY

This abundance did not last. In the early 1920s, cannery statistics exposed a decline in the spring salmon runs. The decline was so severe that Requa's canneries closed in the spring, opening only for fall chinook that ran from July to September. Salmon runs diminished even further during the last years of the decade. Sportsfishermen, many of whom were affluent and well connected, formed a Klamath River Anglers Association through which they lobbied the state legislature to investigate the causes of this decline.

The verdict of two committees in Sacramento was that the Indians living on the Klamath had overfished the resource. The legislature ignored the impact of commercial trollers in which non-Indians harvested salmon in the ocean near the mouth of the Klamath. It also failed to consider the impact of the dams on the Klamath, which would have explained why the decline of spring chinook was much greater than that of the fall runs. Beginning with the construction of Copco 1 in 1918, dams had prevented the large and powerful spring fish from reaching their spawning habitat in the Upper Klamath Basin.

The legislators assumed that the state had jurisdiction over a river that ran through a federal Indian reservation, an assumption that the Department of the Interior did not challenge. As a result, in 1933 California closed the canneries and the Indian fishery.<sup>26</sup>

Now barred from fishing, Klamath River Indians turned to logging, one of the few ways they could make a living. All told, the forest industry accounted for more than 90 percent of the products extracted from or made in Del Norte County during the prosperous postwar years when housing developments arose across the country.

Geneva Mattz's husband, Emery Mattz, worked for Simpson Timber Company, and so did their oldest son, Emery Junior. Logging was dangerous work. "He was setting chokers for a man in the woods," Geneva recalled, "when he jumped up on the car and he missed it—fell right on his head and got hurt."<sup>27</sup>

This happened in the summer. Emery Junior worried about paying his electric bills and getting clothes for his children who would soon be going back to school. He told his mother about salmon he saw going up Blue Creek. If he caught some and took them secretly to a place where he could sell them, Emery could buy what his children needed.

One night Emery went gillnetting and pulled more than sixty salmon into his boat. The next morning, he and Geneva drove with fish in back of their truck past the game wardens, waving to them. "And Emery took his load to Brookings. . . . There was a cannery there, see. . . . He got over two hundred and something dollars. So he turned his lights on and he bought his children groceries and he bought his children clothes."

Emery's favorite place to gillnet was Brooks Riffle, twenty miles upriver from the mouth of the Klamath. He often went with his younger brother Raymond. Wardens knew they were fishing there and tried to catch them. At times the brothers talked about getting their fishing rights back. As Raymond recalled, one night Emery Junior told him "he was tired of being chased all the time. He's the one who said, 'I guess we go to jail.' So we just laid there on the beach, and they pulled up, yeah. They put us under arrest. They handcuffed us up and hauled us to jail."<sup>28</sup> Only Emery ended up behind bars. The wardens let Raymond go, aware, no doubt, that he was underage. Emery

## EXCERPT:

### MATTZ FAMILY INTERVIEWS: ORAL HISTORY TRANSCRIPTS

By Helene H. Oppenheimer

I had been looking for a new oral history project when my friend Stephen Most told me about a mine of primary source material he thought well worth tapping. "Somebody should go up there," Steve said, "and get first-hand accounts of how it felt to be the targets of that invasion."

"Up there" meant California's north coast region, where the Klamath River meets the sea. And "that invasion" was better known by its media name, the "Salmon War," a major conflict rooted in persistent, long-standing controversies over Indian fishing rights. In the fall of 1978, these frequent clashes, both inside and outside the courts, erupted into a nightmare period of bitterness and violence. Armed government forces, federal as well as state, were dispatched to enforce what the Yurok Indian natives found were unacceptably damaging and unjust prohibitions against their use of their ancestral fishing grounds. . . .

The Mattz family carries a history of fighting for the fishing rights that their forefathers taught them were both sacred and inalienable. Still it seems probable that the Salmon War presented the most frightening physical threat they had ever directly experienced. As the invasion gained intensity, family members living in Oregon and around the Bay Area headed for Klamath, alarmed by family reports of ugly confrontations with gun-bearing, flak-jacketed agents and incidents of man-handling, harassment, and arrests.

My conversation with Steve took place six years later, in 1984. At that time, he told me, there were members of three generations of Mattzes still living in the Klamath area who had been through the Salmon War. The grandmother especially—Geneva Mattz, then 81—had played a dramatic part in the struggle. Furthermore, having lived all her life on the land of her forefathers—except for her years in boarding school off the reservation—Geneva was

one of the few still living who could speak the Yurok language and provide a direct link to the past. Her talents as storyteller and exhibitor of regional crafts and ceremonial costumes had often been engaged for the benefit of tourists and visiting school groups. But her own story—out of her own experiences and childhood proximity to "the elders," told in her own words—could bring a sense of intimacy with the past unavailable in history and anthropology texts.

So there it was: the opportunity to record an intergenerational oral history of an American Indian family in the front lines of an especially virulent battle for their fishing rights. And bolstering the collection, giving it perspective and added substance, would be the grandmother's recollections and knowledge of Yurok life in an earlier time. . . .

[A] roadside café had been suggested for a first meeting. It sat across the highway from Trees of Mystery, a sizeable tourist center developed on ground that I would learn later, during Geneva's interviews, figured prominently in her childhood place memories. The family home is only a few miles to the south, in Requa. . . . Today a highway sign marks the turn-off onto a narrow paved road that winds upward past dwellings owned by Indians and non-Indians, to a great promontory overlooking both ocean and river. Not far below the summit lies the ancestral land of the Mattz family—the old house of redwood planks with its round-holed entrance still standing, the family graves and, perched below on the hillside, the "new" two-story home that Geneva liked to remember watching her grandfather build when she was a little girl. . . .

While my visits to Klamath country could be planned well ahead, the interviewing itself usually took place however time and circumstances allowed. Lives were busy in the Mattz family. Except



for Geneva, whose age and fragile health gave her ample leisure, interview time was difficult to schedule for most of the others. Appointments sometimes had to be changed, made on short notice, occasionally on the spur of the moment. But I never found the slightest sign, from the family members interviewed, of disinterest or impatience or resentment. They gave cheerfully of their time and energy and as generously as they could, because they believed in the interview process. They saw it as a safe channel to carry the truth of their story to others. Altogether, I interviewed seven members of the family. . . .

As befits Geneva's long and productive life, her interviews are the most numerous and comprehensive of the group. . . . Given all the richness of Geneva's material, there remains a significant part of her life that I did not probe, hoping to spare her renewed pain and also not wanting to trespass on her privacy. The statistics of her multiple tragedies are . . . appended to her transcripts. But I would like to call attention to them here in testimony to this remarkable woman and to the legacy of love, courage, integrity, and faith that she left with her descendants. Geneva died in August, 1986.

Geneva and Emery Mattz lost four of their nine children, each in the promise of young adulthood. Betty, their oldest daughter, was nineteen years old when she died of tuberculosis. The other three, all sons, were killed: Jack as a paratrooper in World War II, Emery Jr. in a car accident, and Tony struck down at work in the forest by a "widow-maker"—woodsmen's language for the big, flying branches that break away from a felled tree as it drops to the ground. . . . Such a relentless cycle of heartbreaks would seem to most of us grotesque exaggeration, even in fiction. In reality, we have to ask: how was it possible ever to feel hopeful or glad or even well again?

That Geneva did so is one of the miracles sometimes found in the human spirit. That it took years and constant struggle against the encroachments of despair is understandable. Yet questions persist: how was it possible? what were her resources? Perhaps some clues, if not whole answers, will reward a questing listener/reader of Geneva's interviews.

"INTERVIEW BACKGROUND: MATTZ FAMILY COLLECTION," IN *MATTZ FAMILY INTERVIEWS: ORAL HISTORY TRANSCRIPTS CONDUCTED BY HELENE H. OPPENHEIMER, 1984-86, WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY STEPHEN MOST* (SAN FRANCISCO, 1992-93); 4 VOLUMES, 29 CASSETTES; FORMS THE SERIES *THE SALMON WAR AND OTHER CHAPTERS IN A YUOK FAMILY*, BANC MSS 92/94, THE BANCROFT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY (UC BERKELEY BANCROFT PHONOTAPE 2734 C:1-6)

Helene Hirsch Oppenheimer (1912-2007), was an active volunteer in social, political, and cultural organizations in the Bay Area. In her later years, she studied the art of oral history. Her seminal work is the Mattz family history, a multi-generational compilation of oral histories of a Native American (Yurok) family from the Klamath Indian Reservation.



ABOVE: In August–September 1978, federal agents from the Fish and Wildlife Service Enforcement Division joined local law enforcement and the U.S. Coast Guard in implementing a federal and state ban on fishing by Indians and sportsfishermen in the Klamath estuary. Meeting with resistance from the Indians, enforcement teams confiscated gillnets and arrested fishermen, sparking what newspapers called the Salmon War. BELOW: Among the protestors were members of a Yurok gillnetting family: Raymond Mattz (foreground) and Geneva Mattz and Lavina Bowers (right).

COURTESY OF THE MATTZ FAMILY; PHOTO BY DIANE WHIPPLE MATTZ



Junior used his arrest to challenge the state's jurisdiction in court and restore Indian fishing rights. The trial was underway when he was killed in a car wreck.

Raymond continued fishing. On September 24, 1969, he and seven other young men were fishing and partying near Brooks Riffle. When the wardens caught them, Raymond claimed all five of their nets. This time he went to jail and to the courthouse. The judge asked him to plead guilty and pay a dollar fine, but Mattz refused, saying, "I'm not going to, because we need to get our fishing rights back."

The Mattz case went from the Del Norte County Superior Court, which ordered the five gillnets confiscated, to the Court of Appeals, which affirmed the decision. The next stop was the California Supreme Court, which denied Mattz's petition for a hearing. In 1973, at the United States Supreme Court, the gillnetter's fortunes turned. That tribunal focused on the issue of whether the act of 1892 that opened the land to homesteading had terminated the Yurok reservation on the Klamath River. Writing for the majority, Justice Harry Blackmun concluded that "efforts to terminate the reservation by denying allotments to the Indians failed completely . . . the land within the boundaries of the reservation is still Indian country."<sup>29</sup> Raymond Mattz, as a member of the Yurok tribe, had the right to catch fish.

Meanwhile, the decline in salmon stocks continued. The drought of the mid-seventies along with continuing loss of habitat and overfishing in the ocean meant low returns of spawners in subsequent years. Then came the 1983 El Niño. That change in ocean temperatures and currents presaged further declines.

In response, the Pacific Fisheries Management Council halted commercial trolling in the Pacific near the mouth of the Klamath within an area it called the Klamath Management Zone. The council also formed a Klamath River Salmon Management Group. Its members were representatives of the commercial and sports fisheries, biologists from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and from



state fish and game agencies, a Hupa Indian, and a non-Hupa Indian—a position filled by Raymond's niece Susan Bowers Masten, who later became chair of the Yurok Tribal Council and president of the National Council of American Indians.

From the beginning of her work in tribal government, Masten focused on the fishery. As Troy Fletcher, a former executive director of the tribe, recalled, "The people that were in place at that time . . . made a point of trying to develop the strongest, most credible fishery department that we could, because we knew that we would be subject to criticism, that our science would be questioned."<sup>30</sup>

Many commercial fishing people felt that gillnetters were their adversaries. During the early nineties, salmon runs declined precipitously and as the fish went, so did the offshore commercial fishing industry. In 1979 the fleet of trollers off California's north coast numbered about 4,000. In addition to the 7,000 people who fished from those boats, many others were employed processing and distributing the salmon. Six years later there were 3,000 boats, catching almost half a million fall chinook and 59,000 coho. By 1992 only 1,000 vessels were seeking salmon. Their chinook catch was 163,400, and that was the last year they hooked enough coho worth counting—about 2,500.<sup>31</sup>

Tammy Quigley, who bought a troller with her husband in 1991, is one of the commercial fishermen who blamed Indians for their lost livelihood. "The one disturbing issue surrounding the salmon fisheries is that we are limited on our seasons," she explained, "and in the rivers, especially with the Native Americans, they're allowed to catch enormous amounts of salmon."<sup>32</sup>

In order to determine what was fair, the number of fish actually caught by gillnetters was needed. "We could begin to collect data," said Masten, "that would show how many fish we were actually catching and that we were managing our fishery."<sup>33</sup> To manage the salmon habitat and to anticipate future runs, the tribe needed to know not only the number of fish at every stage of the life-

cycle, but also such factors as the temperature and oxygen content of the water, the condition of spawning streams and gravel beds, and quantities of toxic runoffs, especially from herbicides sprayed for forestry. Good information made remedial action possible. Concerned especially about sedimentation that damaged spawning gravels and smothered fish eggs, the tribe formed the Lower Klamath Restoration Partnership in concert with the California State Coastal Conservancy and representatives of Simpson Timber Company.

Although the Mattz case confirmed the Yuroks' right to catch salmon, it did not quantify the amount Yuroks were entitled to. In 1993 the tribe asked for a formal legal opinion from the solicitor of the Department of the Interior. After reviewing the history of the reservation, the solicitor reaffirmed "a purpose by the United States to reserve for the Indians what was necessary to preserve and protect their right to obtain a livelihood by fishing on the reservation." Recognizing that fishing was essential to the life of the Indian people for whom the reservation was created and acknowledging the applicability of an earlier court decision<sup>34</sup> to the Yuroks, the solicitor concluded that their in-river fishery was "entitled to 50% of the harvest."<sup>35</sup>

## RESTORING THE LIFE OF THE RIVER

With Yurok fishing rights so clearly confirmed, fishing industry representatives recognized that it was in their interest to work with the Indians rather than against them. They knew that the best way to increase the numbers of salmon in the ocean was to restore their habitat in the river. They understood that the river tribes not only had incentive to do this, they also embraced the responsibility. A turning point came when Nat Bingham, President of the Pacific Coast Federation of Fishermen's Associations, doubted the numbers Yuroks reported for their catch of salmon and steelhead. "I challenged him," recalled Fletcher, "to come out and look at our fishery. I'd take him on the river. We'd open our books. We'd

talk to him about the way we managed our harvest, we'd count our fish. And after a summer of meetings with the commercial fishermen, to their credit and ours, they made commitments and said, 'You know what, Troy, we're not going to ever question the Yurok Tribe's numbers again.'"<sup>36</sup>

In 2004, commercial fishing representatives joined forces with Yuroks and members of the other Klamath Basin tribes in an attempt to influence the decision of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) to relicense four dams on the Klamath River (Irongate, Copco 1, Copco 2, and J. C. Boyle) when they expired in 2006. However, in January 2007 the Departments of Commerce and the Interior announced their decision to require fish passage as a condition for relicensing. This requirement could not be satisfied by capturing fish in trucks and hauling them around the dams as PacifiCorps, the company that owns the dams, proposed. The hydroelectric facilities would have to be rebuilt with fish ladders to permit spawning upriver of the dams and the migration of juvenile salmon downriver.

The federal decision came in response to the collapse of the offshore salmon fishery along seven hundred miles of the California-Oregon coast in 2005 and 2006. Precipitating the 90 percent cut-back of the salmon trolling seasons during those years were the deaths of juvenile Klamath River salmon in 2002—the fish that would have reentered the river to spawn three and four years later. The failure of more than 80 percent of the juvenile salmon to survive within the mainstem of the Klamath, as well as the much-publicized die-off of tens of thousands of spawning salmon in the estuary that year, dramatized the adverse effects of the dams on the river's water quantity and quality.

According to a report written for the California Energy Commission, the cost of building fish ladders to increase spawning habitat upstream of the dams is estimated at \$300 million, while the costs of dam removal plus the replacement of the hydroelectric energy those dams provide amount to \$101 million less.<sup>37</sup> The greater expense of pro-

viding fish passage may lead PacifiCorps to opt for the removal of some or all of the dams whether or not FERC relicenses them.

Regardless of the decisions made about the dams' future, a major investment in habitat restoration within the Klamath Basin will be necessary to reverse the decline of Klamath River salmon stocks. In that restoration effort, the Yurok tribe, with its centuries-old habitation of the estuary and its ongoing management of salmon habitat, has a crucial role to play. The tribe's long history on the river gives Yuroks a special interest in the sustainability of anadromous fish: for not only is the survival of wild salmon at stake, so is their way of life.

Stephen Most is a playwright and documentary storyteller. He is the author of *River of Renewal: Myth and History in the Klamath Basin* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press in association with University of Washington Press, 2006), in which portions of this article were published; *In the Presence of the Past: The Washington State History Museum* (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1996); the texts, audio voices, and video scripts in "Voices of Washington History," the Washington State History Museum's permanent exhibit; and numerous documentaries about California history, including '06: *The Big One* and *A Land Between Rivers*. Among the documentary films he has scripted or to which he contributed as consulting writer are four Academy Award nominees and two Emmy Award winners.



# Managing a National Crisis:

## *The 1924 Foot-and-Mouth Disease Outbreak in California*

BY KENDRICK A. CLEMENTS

The storms were late in coming to northern California in 1924. In the towns along the east side of San Francisco Bay, businessmen who depended on processing and shipping agricultural products from the state's interior grew concerned. People in Hayward, Oakland, and Berkeley looked out at the dry, brown hills to the east and wondered when spring would arrive. Across the Northern Coast Range in the Central Valley, farmers and ranchers watched their fields grow drier and listened apprehensively to reports that little snow had fallen in the Sierra Nevada Mountains to feed the rivers that watered the valley in the summer. By the end of January there was talk of drought.

Then, at the beginning of February, rain, although still patchy and inadequate, began to fall. As the first storms swept in across the bay, washing the streets and soaking the ground, the hills, so recently brown and dead, began to turn green. Like magic, wildflowers burst into bloom. Delighted by these omens of spring, hikers and picnickers poured out of the towns to walk the hills and pick the wildflowers, while cattle browsed contentedly on the new growth. Neither people nor animals knew that among the bright green

shoots lurked the highly contagious virus that causes foot-and-mouth disease in hoofed animals and pigs. Within weeks, a full-blown epidemic gripped northern California and quickly spread to other parts of the state. State and federal officials implemented draconian measures to contain it and generally succeeded, but they proved far less successful in managing the panicky reactions of other states and foreign countries to the outbreak. Not for the last time, governments at all levels found themselves inadequately prepared to manage a major crisis.

### DISCOVERY OF AN OUTBREAK

On February 17 Dr. J. J. Hogarty, Alameda County's livestock inspector, was called to a farm in West Berkeley, where the farmer reported that his cattle seemed unusually stiff and sore. Although the symptoms were not conclusive, Hogarty immediately suspected foot-and-mouth disease and arranged a consultation the next day with an expert from the University of California. On February 18 the two men examined the Berkeley herd, and Hogarty also heard by telephone from a veterinarian in Hayward that cows at the Shore Acres Dairy Farm in San Leandro had sore mouths, were slobbering profusely, and refused to eat. Finding in their mouths and on their legs near the hoof small blisters filled with a yellowish fluid, Hogarty's fears were confirmed. He quickly telephoned the state department of agriculture in Sacramento, where Dr. J. P. Iverson called the



ABOVE: The federal government's quick response to the outbreak was led by Secretary of Agriculture Henry Cantwell Wallace. Wallace's working knowledge of farming and farm conditions cemented his understanding of farmers' vital role in the national economy. Disregarding this group, which comprised about 30 percent of the nation's population, is "insufferable," he wrote in *Our Debt and Duty to the Farmer*. "The farmer has always been the national stabilizer." Wallace died in office on October 24, 1924, a few weeks after the outbreak's last confirmed occurrence.

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY/SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DEPARTMENT

FACING PAGE: As the outbreak extended to counties across the state, local and national newspapers broadened its reach. Headlines and stories spread fear and panic, contributing to the losses sustained by the state's general industry.

COURTESY OF THE CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

local representative of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Dr. Rudolph Snyder. Snyder left for Oakland on February 20. That same evening California's director of agriculture, the rotund, bushy-haired George Henry Hecke, ordered a temporary quarantine and ban on shipment of all cattle from Alameda County. It was issued on February 22.<sup>1</sup>

No sooner had Hecke acted to seal off Alameda County, however, when he discovered that the situation was far worse than he had imagined: the Berkeley city veterinarian who had been called to a West Berkeley slaughterhouse to examine some sick hogs reported that the animals in question, which he strongly suspected were suffering from foot-and-mouth disease, not only had been on the slaughterhouse grounds for about thirty days, but some had come from the north side of the Sacramento River, well outside Alameda County. A hasty examination that afternoon of the Winslow ranch near Napa, from which some of the pigs had originated, confirmed that the disease was there as well. Indeed, later investigation led state authorities to suspect that it had been present on the ranch for as much as a year prior to its discovery in the slaughterhouse.

It was now obvious that Hecke's quarantine of Alameda County was inadequate; at least three counties—Alameda, Contra Costa, and Solano—were all infected, and possibly others as well.<sup>2</sup> On February 23 Hecke extended the quarantine to Contra Costa, Solano, and Napa counties, officially notified the USDA in Washington of the outbreak, and began to assemble a special taskforce of all available state and federal veterinary inspectors at the Hotel Oakland.

## THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RESPONDS

Within an hour of receiving Hecke's message, Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace announced a federal quarantine of the affected counties and the mass slaughter of infected herds: The next morning the administration arranged to introduce House Joint Resolution 247 providing for the appropriation of \$1.5



LABOR CREATES  
ALL WEALTH  
ALL WEALTH MUST  
GO TO LABOR

EDUCATION ORGANIZATION MANCIPATION

# Industrial Solidarity

L. W. W. PICKETING HESSE  
(Page 1, Col. 1)  
THE GERMAN WATERFRONT  
(Page 1, Col. 2)  
STEEL DRIVE PLAN MADE  
(Page 2, Col. 4, 5, 6, 7)  
WOBS IN TEXTILE FIGHT  
(Page 4, Col. 1, 2)  
CENTRALIA IS BIG ISSUE  
(Page 4, Col. 1, 2)

Official Organ of the Industrial Workers of the World  
Entered as second class matter November 17, 1921 at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879  
New Series, Whole Number 304 CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1924. PRICE FIVE CENTS

## FATAL GERMS IN CALIFORNIA FRUIT

SAN PEDRO POLICE HEAD TRIES

FOR CRIMINALS YOUR SHAME  
I WANT TO START AT THE  
MORNING, SIR I DON'T  
WANT SALARY  
VIVE

I'M AN HOUR TOO EARLY  
BUT I'M GOING TO LEARN  
THIS BUSINESS. SOME  
DAY I MAY BE  
A BETTER MAN

### Hoof and Mouth Disease Goes From Beast to Man

### Hoof and Mouth Plague Makes California Farm Products Unsafe

Workers Everywhere: You are the great masses. Your support is what can destroy anything; your energy can accomplish all. **BOYCOTT** all CALIFORNIA PRODUCTS until the persecution of union workmen is abolished in the State of Orange Groves and Jails!

EDUCATION ORGANIZATION MANCIPATION

## Industrial Worker

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL"

Unionism can live in California only by the staunch support of the workers for the I. W. W. fighting the battle there. Show your solidarity NOW by **SENDING FUNDS** to California Branch of the General Defense, 226 Russ Building, San Francisco, Cal.

### CALIFORNIA'S FRUITS AND VEGETABLES INFECTED BY HOOF AND MOUTH DISEASE

A fearful outbreak of the spread of the dread plague known as the hoof and mouth disease has been reported by Prof. J. Leonard Corbridge, assistant professor in the department of pathology, who was a recent visitor to San Francisco. He is professor in the University of California. He said that the disease is now spreading in the fruit and vegetable crops of the state. The disease is caused by a germ or microbe which is found in volcanic ash, hence boiling food does not kill. The eminent authority advises a boycott on all California products, even canned goods.

GREAT FOR OR

SEATTLE, WASH., SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1924

## Industrial Solidarity

The Workers' Own Paper

NEWS SECTION

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1924. PRICE FIVE CENTS

## IWW WARN AGAINST CALIFORNIA

### Warning!

The state of California and border states are on the verge of war, caused by the foot and mouth quarantine. Every exit from California is guarded by troops. The foot and mouth plague is not caused by a germ or microbe but by a poison atom found in volcanic ash, hence boiling food does not kill. The eminent authority advises a boycott on all California products, even canned goods.

Beware of what you buy.  
Authorized by World Wide Publicity Committee.



### Wobs



### NATURE PLACES BOYCOTT DREAD DISEASE SPREADS

BRUTAL RULING CLASS HAS NO FRIENDS

Warning to working people throughout the United States to beware of all California products because of the hoof and mouth epidemic was issued here this week by the General Defense Committee. In a leaflet which is being distributed in many parts of the country, the committee declares that the spread of the disease was largely due to the failure of the California state authorities to take proper precautions when the first outbreak occurred.





flooded with proposals for treating affected animals, many from countries where the disease was endemic and all hope of eliminating it had been abandoned. But U.S. experts were convinced that in North America, where the disease was rare and isolated, complete extirpation was possible and preferable. They contended that the long recovery period for infected animals, plus the probability the disease would be spread by humans and other animals from the farms where the infection began, meant that the best approach was the mass slaughter of infected herds.<sup>7</sup>

Assiduously following the 1917 federal plan, armed guards were placed at the entrances to the properties where the disease was discovered, the affected animals were inspected and appraised, and huge trenches were dug into which the animals were driven and then shot. The carcasses were covered with lime and dirt, and the graves were watched for a month or two following the slaughter to prevent scavengers from digging them up or the gasses generated by decomposition from blowing open the graves. Following the slaughter and burial of a herd, the infected premises as well as the wheels of all vehicles and the shoes or boots of all residents were cleaned and thoroughly disinfected by a crew specially trained for the job. Herds on neighboring properties were moved as far as possible from the site of infection, and all herds three to five miles in all directions from the infected area were inspected on a regular basis—sometimes daily, but usually weekly. At special stations set up on the highways in the quarantined areas, all vehicles drove through disinfectant pools, and travelers sometimes fumigated their clothing.<sup>8</sup>

By March 8, more than ten thousand infected animals were identified, and nearly seven thousand slaughtered. Cautiously optimistic, officials warned that only the passage of weeks without a new outbreak would prove that the crisis was over. Four days later, with the last of more than eleven thousand animals killed and

**Once he grasped that the state's entire livestock industry was threatened, Hecke dropped his optimistic pronouncements and cooperated wholeheartedly with federal agricultural authorities in an all-out attack on the plague, including the mass slaughter of infected animals.**

buried, their premises disinfected, and no new cases reported outside the original area, California's governor, Friend Richardson, lifted the provisional quarantine on nine counties, though it remained in place on the original four.<sup>9</sup>

By late March authorities were pleased that they seemed to have contained the spread of the disease to the original four counties but were frustrated at their inability to stamp it out in that area. Local stockmen feared that all animals in those four counties would have to be killed, and in Alameda County increasingly desperate officials contemplated closing all highways in the southern part of the county to prevent further spread. Then, on March 24 it was announced that an infected herd had been discovered a hundred miles away in the Central Valley county of Merced. Carried on the boots of a Merced cattle dealer who had visited the infected slaughterhouse in West Berkeley in mid-February, the disease had leaped over the intervening territory and now threatened not only the Central Valley but Mariposa, Stanislaus, and Tuolumne counties in the Sierra foothills. If it got that far, deer and elk could carry it into the mountains and eastward into other states. And equally alarming, shortly before the outbreak was discovered in Merced, there had been large shipments of cattle from that region brought to Los Angeles  
(continued)

talk to him about the way we managed our harvest, we'd count our fish. And after a summer of meetings with the commercial fishermen, to their credit and ours, they made commitments and said, 'You know what, Troy, we're not going to ever question the Yurok Tribe's numbers again.'"<sup>36</sup>

In 2004, commercial fishing representatives joined forces with Yuroks and members of the other Klamath Basin tribes in an attempt to influence the decision of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) to relicense four dams on the Klamath River (Irongate, Copco 1, Copco 2, and J. C. Boyle) when they expired in 2006. However, in January 2007 the Departments of Commerce and the Interior announced their decision to require fish passage as a condition for relicensing. This requirement could not be satisfied by capturing fish in trucks and hauling them around the dams as PacifiCorps, the company that owns the dams, proposed. The hydroelectric facilities would have to be rebuilt with fish ladders to permit spawning upriver of the dams and the migration of juvenile salmon downriver.

The federal decision came in response to the collapse of the offshore salmon fishery along seven hundred miles of the California-Oregon coast in 2005 and 2006. Precipitating the 90 percent cut-back of the salmon trolling seasons during those years were the deaths of juvenile Klamath River salmon in 2002—the fish that would have reentered the river to spawn three and four years later. The failure of more than 80 percent of the juvenile salmon to survive within the mainstem of the Klamath, as well as the much-publicized die-off of tens of thousands of spawning salmon in the estuary that year, dramatized the adverse effects of the dams on the river's water quantity and quality.

According to a report written for the California Energy Commission, the cost of building fish ladders to increase spawning habitat upstream of the dams is estimated at \$300 million, while the costs of dam removal plus the replacement of the hydroelectric energy those dams provide amount to \$101 million less.<sup>37</sup> The greater expense of pro-

viding fish passage may lead PacifiCorps to opt for the removal of some or all of the dams whether or not FERC relicenses them.

Regardless of the decisions made about the dams' future, a major investment in habitat restoration within the Klamath Basin will be necessary to reverse the decline of Klamath River salmon stocks. In that restoration effort, the Yurok tribe, with its centuries-old habitation of the estuary and its ongoing management of salmon habitat, has a crucial role to play. The tribe's long history on the river gives Yuroks a special interest in the sustainability of anadromous fish: for not only is the survival of wild salmon at stake, so is their way of life.

Stephen Most is a playwright and documentary storyteller. He is the author of *River of Renewal: Myth and History in the Klamath Basin* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press in association with University of Washington Press, 2006), in which portions of this article were published; *In the Presence of the Past: The Washington State History Museum* (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1996); the texts, audio voices, and video scripts in "Voices of Washington History," the Washington State History Museum's permanent exhibit; and numerous documentaries about California history, including '06: *The Big One* and *A Land Between Rivers*. Among the documentary films he has scripted or to which he contributed as consulting writer are four Academy Award nominees and two Emmy Award winners.



# Managing a National Crisis:

## *The 1924 Foot-and-Mouth Disease Outbreak in California*

BY KENDRICK A. CLEMENTS

The storms were late in coming to northern California in 1924. In the towns along the east side of San Francisco Bay, businessmen who depended on processing and shipping agricultural products from the state's interior grew concerned. People in Hayward, Oakland, and Berkeley looked out at the dry, brown hills to the east and wondered when spring would arrive. Across the Northern Coast Range in the Central Valley, farmers and ranchers watched their fields grow drier and listened apprehensively to reports that little snow had fallen in the Sierra Nevada Mountains to feed the rivers that watered the valley in the summer. By the end of January there was talk of drought.

Then, at the beginning of February, rain, although still patchy and inadequate, began to fall. As the first storms swept in across the bay, washing the streets and soaking the ground, the hills, so recently brown and dead, began to turn green. Like magic, wildflowers burst into bloom. Delighted by these omens of spring, hikers and picnickers poured out of the towns to walk the hills and pick the wildflowers, while cattle browsed contentedly on the new growth. Neither people nor animals knew that among the bright green

shoots lurked the highly contagious virus that causes foot-and-mouth disease in hoofed animals and pigs. Within weeks, a full-blown epidemic gripped northern California and quickly spread to other parts of the state. State and federal officials implemented draconian measures to contain it and generally succeeded, but they proved far less successful in managing the panicky reactions of other states and foreign countries to the outbreak. Not for the last time, governments at all levels found themselves inadequately prepared to manage a major crisis.

### DISCOVERY OF AN OUTBREAK

On February 17 Dr. J. J. Hogarty, Alameda County's livestock inspector, was called to a farm in West Berkeley, where the farmer reported that his cattle seemed unusually stiff and sore. Although the symptoms were not conclusive, Hogarty immediately suspected foot-and-mouth disease and arranged a consultation the next day with an expert from the University of California. On February 18 the two men examined the Berkeley herd, and Hogarty also heard by telephone from a veterinarian in Hayward that cows at the Shore Acres Dairy Farm in San Leandro had sore mouths, were slobbering profusely, and refused to eat. Finding in their mouths and on their legs near the hoof small blisters filled with a yellowish fluid, Hogarty's fears were confirmed. He quickly telephoned the state department of agriculture in Sacramento, where Dr. J. P. Iverson called the

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ABOVE: *The federal government's quick response to the outbreak was led by Secretary of Agriculture Henry Cantwell Wallace. Wallace's working knowledge of farming and farm conditions cemented his understanding of farmers' vital role in the national economy. Disregarding this group, which comprised about 30 percent of the nation's population, is "insufferable," he wrote in Our Debt and Duty to the Farmer. "The farmer has always been the national stabilizer." Wallace died in office on October 24, 1924, a few weeks after the outbreak's last confirmed occurrence.*

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY/SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DEPARTMENT

FACING PAGE: *As the outbreak extended to counties across the state, local and national newspapers broadened its reach. Headlines and stories spread fear and panic, contributing to the losses sustained by the state's general industry.*

COURTESY OF THE CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

local representative of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Dr. Rudolph Snyder. Snyder left for Oakland on February 20. That same evening California's director of agriculture, the rotund, bushy-haired George Henry Hecke, ordered a temporary quarantine and ban on shipment of all cattle from Alameda County. It was issued on February 22.<sup>1</sup>

No sooner had Hecke acted to seal off Alameda County, however, when he discovered that the situation was far worse than he had imagined: the Berkeley city veterinarian who had been called to a West Berkeley slaughterhouse to examine some sick hogs reported that the animals in question, which he strongly suspected were suffering from foot-and-mouth disease, not only had been on the slaughterhouse grounds for about thirty days, but some had come from the north side of the Sacramento River, well outside Alameda County. A hasty examination that afternoon of the Winslow ranch near Napa, from which some of the pigs had originated, confirmed that the disease was there as well. Indeed, later investigation led state authorities to suspect that it had been present on the ranch for as much as a year prior to its discovery in the slaughterhouse.

It was now obvious that Hecke's quarantine of Alameda County was inadequate; at least three counties—Alameda, Contra Costa, and Solano—were all infected, and possibly others as well.<sup>2</sup> On February 23 Hecke extended the quarantine to Contra Costa, Solano, and Napa counties, officially notified the USDA in Washington of the outbreak, and began to assemble a special taskforce of all available state and federal veterinary inspectors at the Hotel Oakland.

## THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RESPONDS

Within an hour of receiving Hecke's message, Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace announced a federal quarantine of the affected counties and the mass slaughter of infected herds. The next morning the administration arranged to introduce House Joint Resolution 247 providing for the appropriation of \$1.5



EDUCATION

ORGANIZATION

MANCIPATION

LABOR CREATES  
ALL WEALTH  
GO TO LABOR

# Industrial Solidarity

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New Series, Whole Number 204

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1924

PRICE FIVE CENTS

L. W. W. PICKETING HESSE  
(Page 1, Col. 1)  
THE GERMAN WATERFRONT  
(Page 1, Col. 2)  
STEEL DRIVE PLAN MADE  
(Page 2, Col. 4, 5 & 7)  
WOBS IN TEXTILE FIGHT  
(Page 4, Col. 1, 2)  
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5 Cents a Copy

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That the epidemic may be prevented, urged by some of the

million to fight the outbreak and to compensate farmers for slaughtered animals. Despite the *Oakland Tribune's* report on February 23 that people were in no danger from meat or milk from affected animals and that, according to "unnamed experts," the spread of the disease had been "checked," panic spread even faster than the virus. That same day the Canadian government closed its borders to all shipments of cattle, sheep, swine, goats, dogs, poultry, meat or other animal parts, as well as hay, straw, fodder, or manure from California, Nevada, and Oregon. Four days later Colorado embargoed all California livestock, hay, and straw.<sup>3</sup>

The federal government reacted so quickly to the outbreak because, following previous outbreaks in New England (1902), New York and Pennsylvania (1908), and Michigan and Illinois (1914–15), the USDA had created lists of experienced veterinarians in every agricultural region of the country. In 1917 the department published two thousand copies of a booklet providing information about the disease and outlining procedures to be followed in the event of a future outbreak. There would be no half measures; affected areas would be strictly quarantined and infected herds would be slaughtered. Agricultural authorities in every state also agreed not only on exactly how quarantines would be defined and enforced, but also the equal sharing by the states and the federal government in the costs of destroying and burying infected animals, hiring guards, obtaining equipment needed to enforce quarantines, and compensating cattle owners for destroyed animals.

With these federal measures in place, Hecke coordinated a group of experienced state agriculture department experts to work closely with a federal team of experts, led by Dr. Rudolph Snyder, resident USDA agent in Sacramento, to implement the federal plan. Within six weeks the team included 60 state and 110 federal agents; the federal force eventually grew to more than 200.<sup>4</sup> In terms of actually combating the disease, state and federal officials were thus

well prepared for a crisis. They were, however, almost totally unprepared to deal with the national and international panic that accompanied the outbreak.

The rapid federal and state responses to the crisis and the strict quarantine imposed on the four affected counties led Hecke to be optimistic. On February 25 he told the *Oakland Tribune* that it was "almost safe to say" that the outbreak had been confined to the four quarantined counties. But even before the words were out of his mouth, the quarantine was extended to Monterey County, with fifteen other counties under "provisional quarantine." Thereafter, the pattern of soothing announcements about the outbreak's imminent end, closely coupled with announcements of newly affected herds, recurred on almost a daily basis.<sup>5</sup>

A large part of the reason for the initial series of misleading bulletins was Hecke's mandate, as director of California's five-year-old department of agriculture, to promote the state's booming agricultural industry rather than regulate or police it. Furthermore, in his previous post as commissioner of horticulture, his expertise was in slow-spreading plant diseases rather than rapid-moving animal infections. At first he obviously underestimated the danger of the situation, but Hecke was an intelligent and realistic man. Once he grasped that the state's entire livestock industry was threatened, he dropped his optimistic pronouncements and cooperated wholeheartedly with federal agricultural authorities in an all-out attack on the plague, including the mass slaughter of infected animals.<sup>6</sup>

Many livestock owners were reluctant, understandably, to accept the idea that the only solution lay in mass slaughter. Since the mortality rate for the disease was low—around 3 percent—and animals seemed to recover spontaneously after a time, people who had little experience with the disease hoped that some medicine would cure it or that doing nothing would lead eventually to full recovery. The USDA was



flooded with proposals for treating affected animals, many from countries where the disease was endemic and all hope of eliminating it had been abandoned. But U.S. experts were convinced that in North America, where the disease was rare and isolated, complete extirpation was possible and preferable. They contended that the long recovery period for infected animals, plus the probability the disease would be spread by humans and other animals from the farms where the infection began, meant that the best approach was the mass slaughter of infected herds.<sup>7</sup>

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*(continued)*

## NO HALF MEASURES: THE SLAUGHTER OF INFECTED AND EXPOSED ANIMALS

“Although it is the duty of all to aid in the enforcement of quarantine orders, there will be misguided individuals in every outbreak who, through ignorance of the true nature of the disease or for other reasons, will oppose the slaughter of animals.”

—A. W. Miller, “Foot and Mouth Disease in the United States,” United States Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook of Agriculture* 1926 (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1927)

At various times during California’s 1924 outbreak, objections were made to the rigorous policies enforced by state and federal governments to control and eradicate foot-and-mouth disease, none more loudly perhaps than the slaughter of infected and exposed animals. Of all the regulations—inspection, quarantine, slaughter, the cleaning and disinfection of premises, and re-inspection—slaughter of animals was least understood, primarily due to the disease’s low mortality.

However, studies conducted after the outbreak by the newly established American Foot-and-Mouth Disease Commission (1925–26)—a group of three scientists working abroad, where conducting research was possible for American scientists—confirmed the viability of slaughter as an effective method and a critical component of the disease’s control and eradication.

Among the findings were the risk of secondary illness, such as heart lesions, and outbreaks, due to virus carriers, who could harbor the virus for a long time after recovery and cause future outbreaks, sometimes more than a year after recovery. Subsequent studies identified six types of the virus (A, O, C, SAT-1, SAT-2, and SAT-3) that could readily infect animals, even those immune to one of them, and demonstrated that infection could occur through transmission by intermediate hosts (e.g., the cattle fever tick).

During the 1924 outbreak, however, such technical information was not available. Twenty months of ceaseless effort were required before it was considered safe to remove all restrictions from the involved areas.

From 1924 to 1925, 58,791 cattle, 21,195 hogs, 28,382 sheep, 1,391 goats, and 22,214 deer were slaughtered. The images that follow tell their story.



*Of the 58,791 cattle slaughtered during the outbreak, many were cattle grazing on the range.*



*Ranchers and farmers were required to report any suspected case of foot-and-mouth disease immediately to state and veterinary officials. Extremely contagious, the virus causes painful blisters on the mucous membrane of the mouth, between the toes, and on the udder and also is found in the saliva and other secretions. Other symptoms include loss of appetite, condition, and weight; increase in body temperature; profuse slobbering; lameness; and lack of milk production.*



*Reports of suspected cases were followed by an official inspection of the herd, diagnosis, and, upon discovery of the disease, the imposition of strict federal regulations. The USDA maintained a force of trained and experienced veterinarians and inspectors, which one agency publication noted "is prepared to proceed to the scene of action on telegraphic orders," and whose organization was described as "somewhat similar to that of an army . . . made up of units each one of which handles a particular line of work, such as inspections, appraisals, trench digging, slaughter, disinfection, car cleaning, and shipments."*





*Trenches were dug in which large herds were slaughtered and buried. Occasionally with herds of range cattle, as occurred during the Texas outbreak the same year, diseased animals were slaughtered and immediately incinerated as steam shovels prepared trenches for burial of the remaining animals.*



*A sufficient number of qualified riders and ropers had to be secured as soon as infection was confirmed to ensure that all animals in the herd were effectively gathered together and held under control prior to slaughter. To prevent the spread of infection while the animals were awaiting slaughter, they were sometimes held at a control point until the trench was ready and often until the following morning, when an entire day could be devoted to the herd's disposal.*





*The USDA identified immediate slaughter and disposal as "essential elements in the prompt eradication" of the disease, owing to its extreme contagiousness and the rapidity with which it spreads. In the more rocky regions of the state where the disease was found, the slaughter and disposal of large herds was more troublesome. In some instances, the animals were driven into a rocky canyon and killed, followed by blasting the side of the canyon with dynamite to bury the carcasses.*





*In the trenches the carcasses were thoroughly eviscerated and covered with quick lime prior to burial; as a rule, one barrel of lime was considered sufficient for every six to eight cattle or every twelve to fifteen sheep or hogs. Lime and other agents prevented surfacing of contaminated material after pit closure, the digging up of carcasses by scavengers, and the presence of live virus from any run-off due to flooding.*



PHOTOS: CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SOURCES: USDA YEARBOOK OF AGRICULTURE 1924, 1925, 1942, 1956; CHARLES KEANE, *THE EPIZOOTIC OF FOOT AND MOUTH DISEASE IN CALIFORNIA*, STATE OF CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, SPECIAL PUBLICATION No. 65 (SACRAMENTO: CALIFORNIA STATE PRINTING OFFICE, 1926). COURTESY OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND THE CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE.

To prevent the possibility of carrying the disease to noninfected areas, vehicles were fumigated. Stations at the borders of neighboring states disinfected vehicles prior to allowing them to leave California by highway. The seriousness with which Arizona enforced its embargo on vehicular traffic was characterized by armed guards, a gubernatorial proclamation, readying of the state's National Guard, and a request for federal troops.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Oregon's fumigation station on the California-Oregon border. A standard disinfecting solution, usually formaldehyde gas, was applied to the soles of shoes and luggage. During Arizona's quarantine, men and women were subject to a disinfectant bath, the men assisted by guardsmen from the 158th Infantry, the woman by ladies from nearby Yuma. The guardsmen remained on duty in Yuma until May 20.

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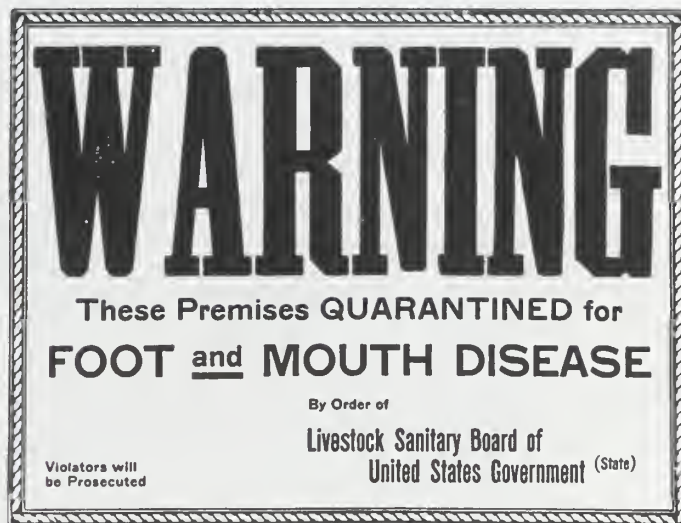
Quarantine of an infected premise during a minor occurrence of foot-and-mouth disease in California in 1929: seven-foot-high wire fencing enclosed the premises and a guard system restricted the movement of animals and people on and off the premises. During the 1924 outbreak, although many counties were under provisional quarantine until proof of the disease was established, quarantines were maintained only where infection was actually found.

COURTESY OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF  
AGRICULTURE



and of hogs to San Francisco. Los Angeles and San Francisco counties immediately were placed under quarantine, and armed guards were posted at the cities' stockyards. With almost two-thirds of the state's human population now in quarantined areas, intrastate travel and business came nearly to a halt. Utah officials proposed a complete ban on all shipments of livestock, meat, and dairy products outside the state; by April 1, seven neighboring states had adopted what was described as a "ring of steel" policy banning shipments of all agricultural products from California.<sup>10</sup>

California residents now found themselves increasingly subject to a sort of house arrest. Roads and trails were closed or travel on them severely restricted, appeals were issued to people not to pick wildflowers, and outdoor public events such as Picnic Day at the University of California at Davis (a fifteen-year tradition), the Pacific Coast college tennis tournament, and rodeos at Monterey and Salinas were canceled. A delay in the opening of the state trout fishing season was proposed, and the National Park Service closed all roads into Yosemite Park, permitting access only by train. Although USDA inspectors insisted that the meat on sale in East Bay stores was perfectly safe, such reassurance demonstrated that anxiety and discontent were growing, perhaps exacerbated by a reported drop in bootlegging as liquor runners found it difficult to travel around the state distributing their product.<sup>11</sup>



*Quarantine notices reflected the strict regulations the USDA imposed on infected premises. Rigidly maintained, federal regulations ultimately helped protect agricultural and commercial interests at local, national, and international levels. Violators faced a fine of fifty to five hundred dollars and imprisonment of up to six months. The last quarantine of the epidemic that began on February 1924 on a dairy farm in West Berkeley was removed on June 10, 1926.*

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six states, the territory of Hawaii, Canada, Mexico, and a number of other countries embargoed some or all agricultural products from California. Even within the state, uninfected counties blocked shipments from infected regions. Shipping companies, unable to predict which items would be stopped at some state or local border, refused to contract with farmers or wholesalers to carry any California products. California chambers of commerce and fruit growers' associations, terrified that the international panic would close markets to every California product, urgently petitioned Governor Richardson to call a special session of the state legislature. He refused, but state officials did organize a conference of representatives from western states at Salt Lake City on April 1, where agreement was reached on regulations governing the packing and shipping of agricultural products other than animals that reassured leaders of the uninfected states

## GROWING CRISIS

By early April foot-and-mouth disease had become much more than a state problem. Canada extended its ban of all shipments of cattle and hay from California to the whole western United States, while Colorado and Montana embargoed California fruits, vegetables, trees, and shrubbery, as well as products associated with cattle or sheep. Montana even prohibited the entry of California farm workers, and Arizona announced that it would close all cross-border roads to eastbound traffic on April 11. Ultimately, thirty-



and made possible the shipment of at least some of California's produce. But as the plague moved south into Kern County and the Imperial Valley, growers of fruits, vegetables, and other agricultural products continued to pour out their worries to the federal government.<sup>12</sup>

In Washington, D.C., Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, himself a Californian and part owner of a large fruit and cotton farm in Kern County, was sympathetic to the lamentations coming from the West Coast and tried to do what he could to help. On April 17 he wrote to President Calvin Coolidge that the "scare" surrounding the epidemic had "reached a stage where it seriously interferes with interstate commerce and . . . is beginning to alarm the banking community." He recommended that the USDA "undertake the responsibility of certifying rail shipments [of fruits and vegetables] out of California." Hoover also proposed to Governor Richardson of California that neighboring states be asked politely to accept shipments cleared by the USDA. He suggested that if they balked, a hint could be dropped that California might bring action against them in the Supreme Court for interfering with interstate commerce. Richardson was quick to adopt Hoover's suggestion, but Coolidge, as usual, was resistant to action, and for a few days it appeared that nothing would be done.<sup>13</sup>

Coolidge's reluctance crumbled when events on the West Coast escalated beyond control. The crisis began on April 11, when Arizona cut off all eastbound traffic from California at the Ehrenberg ferry and the Yuma and Needles bridges over the Colorado River, posting guards at the crossings to turn back travelers. By April 17 some sixteen hundred irate motorists were backed up on the California side of the line, sleeping in cars and on pool tables in local bars, running short of food despite an appeal from the mayor of Needles for contributions. When about five hundred of the stranded travelers held a mass meeting and decided to rush the Yuma Bridge, Arizona Governor George W. P.

Hunt ordered entrances to the bridge chained off and posted more guards to stop anyone trying to cross. Despite a statement by President Coolidge that Arizona's blockade was "altogether more severe than necessary," Hunt declared that it would be "courting disaster" to modify any of Arizona's restrictions. Nevertheless, the governor did back down, and on April 18 his office announced that travel would reopen some time during the coming week.<sup>14</sup>

Hunt's retreat came too late. The evening of his announcement, some seven hundred motorists in two hundred cars rushed the cordon of guards posted at Yuma Bridge. The first vehicles broke through, only to face a second ring of defenses: firemen hastily called up by the governor from nearby towns and armed with high-pressure hoses. Fortunately, neither guards nor motorists were armed, so there was no shooting, and although most of the cars were turned back, four carrying people with genuine emergencies (including a woman in labor) were allowed to pass. Seeing these exceptions to the travel ban, those who had turned around reversed again, and in the confusion some of the cars broke through. Hunt, vowing to reestablish the blockade, ordered members of the Arizona National Guard, armed with machine guns, to man the barricades at the end of the bridge. He threatened to prohibit eastbound rail, as well as automobile traffic, from California.<sup>15</sup>

Fortunately, calmer heads prevailed and on April 19 Arizona announced that those already camped at the Yuma bridgehead would be allowed to cross if they underwent careful fumigation, after which the blockade would be restored. A corrugated iron fumigation shed was hastily erected on the California side of the border, and motorists lined up patiently to endure the twenty-minute process of having their cars sprayed with formaldehyde and their clothes and baggage treated with steam. The desert sun turned the fumigation shed into an inferno, and as a trickle of travelers left it, gun-toting Arizona guardsmen menaced everyone crossing the

bridge. On the California side deputy sheriffs armed with rifles and sawed-off shotguns vowed to resist any attempt by the Arizona authorities to cross into California, but the fact that even a few travelers were getting through relieved some of the tension.<sup>16</sup>

Within twenty-four hours several hundred waiting motorists had been treated and allowed to continue their trips, and at 9:00 A.M. on the morning of April 20 Arizona again closed its borders to all eastbound automobile traffic, renewing the threat to block rail traffic as well. With new outbreaks of disease reported in Merced, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino counties, there was little likelihood that the situation would improve in the near future, and as more motorists began to pile up at crossing points, it seemed possible that frustrations on both sides of the border would lead to violence. In Washington, President Coolidge was goaded at last into adopting Secretary Hoover's suggestion. He hastily telegraphed the governors of Washington, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Colorado, New Mexico, and California to propose an interstate conference to standardize quarantine regulations and secure permission for the USDA to assume authority to inspect shipments of agricultural products from California and certify their safety. Moreover, in addition to securing \$1 million for the eradication campaign on April 2, Congress appropriated \$1.5 million on April 26 and another \$3.5 million in May. But California officials, despite their loud complaints about the situation, were slow to take comparable steps.<sup>17</sup>

In Sacramento, where the legislature was not in session, Governor Richardson was unwilling to take the political risk of calling a special session to ask for an appropriation to pay for the cleanup and help compensate stock owners. Nor was he willing to ask lawmakers to pass legislation authorizing agricultural agents to slaughter animals that were in diseased herds but not actually sick, which the agents believed

was essential to successful eradication. Instead, he secured \$2 million on the strength of pledges wired to him by individual legislators that they would appropriate the money when the legislature next met. Overall, the governor offered little leadership in dealing with the crisis and agricultural officials were left on their own. Despairing of receiving official support, state agricultural agents simply proceeded with the slaughter of animals on the assumption that they had general authority to protect the public's health. In mid-April Hecke proposed to bypass Sacramento entirely and let the USDA assume authority for eradication. The proposal was welcomed in Washington and on April 24 the federal Bureau of Animal Industry took full charge of the campaign. All state agricultural agents became "collaborating federal inspectors" and all federal agents were commissioned as state agents. The federal agents would lead the fight against the disease and would begin inspecting and certifying the safety of shipments of California agricultural products other than those of animals.<sup>18</sup>

#### SCIENCE VS. REASSURANCE

At the same time, Hoover launched an attack on the problem from a different direction. On April 25 he wrote to Dr. Simon Flexner, director of laboratories at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York City, suggesting that the institute investigate how the disease was transferred from one animal to another in the hope that research could eliminate fresh fruits and vegetables as carriers. Even if it proved impossible "to isolate the germ or provide any of the defenses in the nature of inoculation, etc.," wrote Hoover, "the very effort would be a great comfort to the people of California." A few days later he forwarded to the USDA Flexner's suggestion that one of the unused World War I cargo ships owned by the United States Shipping Board and anchored off the East Coast become a



It was “necessary not only to surround, corral, rope and exterminate the disease itself, but also to carry on a running fight with . . . blind fear.”

floating laboratory where scientists from the Rockefeller Institute could study the foot-and-mouth disease virus.<sup>19</sup>

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, however, wanted nothing to do with Hoover’s suggestion. He would not “care to be a party to any plan which contemplates transferring the virus of foot-and-mouth disease to any point on the Atlantic Coast,” he wrote. Faced with this attitude, Flexner quickly retreated. Although, as a scientist, he believed that relatively simple precautions would eliminate any danger of the virus escaping, he was unwilling to allow the institute to take on the project in the face of the USDA’s “fear of escape and the setting up of another outbreak of the disease.”<sup>20</sup>

Buried in Flexner’s letter to Hoover was a point that, if widely accepted, might have substantially modified the techniques used in fighting the disease. Flexner argued that the rapid disappearance of the disease following the slaughter of infected animals suggested that “the virus has no very great power of survival aside from the infected animals.”<sup>21</sup> The implication of this insight was that elaborate and expensive procedures for disinfecting ground, equipment, and people following the slaughter of an infected herd were unnecessary. They reassured the public but had no other value—a conclusion that was borne out the following year in isolated areas of the Sierras where little cleanup was possible after the slaughter of infected herds. Had the Rockefeller Institute been allowed to study the virus, this conclusion might have

been confirmed and thus might have reduced the cost of combating future outbreaks—but at the price, perhaps, of greater public alarm.<sup>22</sup>

Regardless of the USDA’s new role in California and Governor Richardson’s claim that the epidemic was under control, Arizona’s Governor Hunt was not reassured. A Democrat who previously tangled with Hoover over apportionment of the water of the Colorado River between Arizona and California, Hunt had little liking and less trust for Republicans, whether they were in Sacramento or Washington. On April 22 he announced that effective April 28 all rail passengers from California would have to be inspected and disinfected. State agriculture department officials were reportedly “incensed” at these “unreasonable and unnecessary” regulations, and once again Hunt backed down in the face of opposition. The requirement for inspection and disinfection of rail passengers was quietly dropped before it ever went into effect, and the only inconvenience to travelers was the restriction of bringing nothing but “hand luggage” with them on the train. Nevertheless, on April 26 the *Oakland Tribune* reported renewed concern about possible armed conflict along the Arizona-California border and shortly afterward the Federal Reserve Bank in San Francisco noted a general decline in trade and business throughout the state as a result of the disease.<sup>23</sup>

The panic that led Governor Hunt to issue travel restrictions also affected others. A West Virginia glass company wrote to the Department of Commerce complaining that it had been told that a shipment of its glass from Baltimore to Hawaii would not be admitted at Honolulu if it was packed in hay, even though the hay was grown in Wisconsin, not California. That misunderstanding took a week’s worth of telegrams back and forth to Hawaii to be resolved. A rumor that a newsreel company, International News, was distributing a film showing the slaughter of diseased cattle in California required Hoover’s personal intervention with the president of the Motion Picture Producers and Dis-

tributors Association of America, Will H. Hays, to assure him that none of the newsreel companies would distribute such pictures. Another rumor that members of the radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) were using infected dogs to spread the disease in California and encouraging a general boycott of California goods led Assistant Federal District Attorney Grove L. Fink to announce that the Department of Justice would "round up" IWW members. As George Hecke noted, it was "necessary not only to surround, corral, rope and exterminate the disease itself, but also to carry on a running fight with the blind fear that strove mightily to bar out of great American and foreign markets the clean output of California's horticulture."<sup>24</sup> However real the fear of foot-and-mouth disease might be, it was obvious that some interests inside and outside the state also found it a convenient excuse for advancing their economic and political fortunes. Neither the state nor federal government was prepared to deal with this aspect of the crisis.

Fortunately for everyone concerned, by the end of April the outbreak began to weaken. On April 28 newspapers reported that thirty-three days had passed without new infections in Alameda County and that restocking the county's farms would begin. Delegates from several states who visited California on April 28 and 29 to see the situation first-hand noted their belief that conditions were much improved and that some softening of restrictions on shipments was warranted. On May 2 the state agriculture department lifted the quarantine completely for Marin, Sonoma, Santa Clara, and San Mateo counties and restricted it to limited areas of Napa and Solano counties. A week later, with two cases in Los Angeles County the only new infections reported, quarantine restrictions were relaxed almost everywhere and officials began to determine the cost of fighting the outbreak.<sup>25</sup>

The understandable eagerness in California to return to normal proved premature. New cases,

sometimes moderately serious, continued to crop up in the southern and eastern parts of the state throughout the summer of 1924, with the last confirmed outbreak on a previously uninfected farm on October 9. Nevertheless, by late June quarantines were lifted throughout most of the state and people began to believe that the worst was over.<sup>26</sup>

## A NEW THREAT

What the public did not know, however, was that a new threat had seriously alarmed federal officials. On July 12 agents of the U.S. Forest Service confirmed that foot-and-mouth disease had been found among deer in the Stanislaus National Forest. No one knew how many deer lived in the thousand square miles of the Sierras, but as Hecke later summarized, it was obvious that unless the disease could be stamped out it "might spread among these animals up and down their feeding grounds in the Sierra Nevada Mountains and elsewhere with the gravest consequences." There seemed no alternative to launching a massive hunt to round up, kill, and bury as many as possible of the thousands of deer in the region. At various times, from one hundred to four hundred hunters were housed in some forty-three separate camps scattered throughout the mountains. Adding to the difficulties of finding and killing the deer amid some of the most rugged terrain in the West was the outraged opposition of local hunters, whose threats against government officials led to a temporary suspension of the operation in September. A few days later the hunt resumed, however, and continued until November, when snowstorms drove both deer and hunters to lower altitudes where the systematic slaughter continued throughout the winter. By June 1925 more than twenty-two thousand deer had been killed, of which a little over 10 percent were infected with foot-and-mouth disease. The national forests in the Sierras remained under quarantine and were not reopened until June 1926, a year after the last infected deer was killed.<sup>27</sup>

*After the 1929 outbreak in California, the USDA reported the eradication of foot-and-mouth disease among livestock in the United States. Posters helped maintain a disease-free nation. By knowing the disease's symptoms farmers could quickly identify and report suspected cases.*

COURTESY OF THE UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

## DISEASES COMPLETELY ERADICATED FROM UNITED STATES



Typical case of foot-and-mouth disease

Contagious pleuropneumonia  
Foot-and-mouth disease  
European fowl pest

MOST OTHERS ARE UNDER CONTROL OR  
RESTRICTED TO SMALL AREAS

Report strange diseases  
promptly. Never conceal them

The campaign against the disease among the deer of the Sierras—in many ways the most massive and astonishing part of the whole operation—drew little or no public notice. Conducted in areas remote from centers of population, it inconvenienced hunters and caused problems for stockmen accustomed to pasturing their herds in the national forests, but it seems to have been accepted without protest by Californians, who were prevented from camping and hiking in the state's eastern mountains for a year. For most people, apparently, the loss seemed minor compared to the benefits resulting from the re-opening of trade and travel with the outside world. Having suffered through a year-long recession caused in part by the outbreak, most Californians were in no mood to complain.<sup>28</sup>

### TOO CONTAGIOUS TO STUDY

The waning of the epidemic in the agricultural regions of California in the summer of 1924 reduced any pressure the USDA may have felt to permit a scientific study of the disease, as did news from Europe about scientific breakthroughs in the study of the virus.<sup>29</sup> When the Los Angeles County Medical Association

adopted a resolution urging the department “to carry out or authorize investigations with foot-and-mouth disease,” Secretary of Agriculture Wallace rejected the request. The USDA, he wrote, had decided “after most careful consideration of every phase of this subject” not to “approve experimentation with the virus” within the United States. He went on to list five reasons for the decision:

First, that only a cursory study of the disease could be made in infected areas under our system of prompt slaughter and burial of affected and exposed animals, unless the virus were propagated and kept on hand for an extended period after the disease would otherwise have been stamped out. Second, that there is little or no prospect that such a study would add anything to the knowledge that has been gained by the vast amount of experimental and research study that has been made of this disease by European investigators of eminent standing in both veterinary and human fields of medicine. Third, the difficulty of controlling the virus of this highly



infectious malady and preventing the escape of the infection. Fourth, the probability that many of the States, if they knew that experiments were being carried on with this disease, would immediately place embargoes upon shipments of practically all the products of the State in which investigations were being made. Fifth, the likelihood that any investigation or research study that might produce worthwhile [sic] results would have to be carried on for months and possibly years, during which time the virus of the disease would be a potential menace to healthy, susceptible animals in the vicinity.<sup>30</sup>

When examined, Wallace's argument presents two main objections to a scientific study of the foot-and-mouth disease virus: that it was scientifically dangerous and that it was politically inexpedient. The argument that sustained study of the virus under laboratory conditions posed unacceptable risks of infection to healthy animals had little validity. As Simon Flexner of the Rockefeller Institute explained to Herbert Hoover, "By exercising precautions of incinerating all materials in contact with the experimental animals and the precise control of personnel—clothing, shoes, etc.," any danger that the disease would escape from a laboratory would be obviated. Wallace's other scientific objection—that basic research was making rapid progress in Europe—had greater validity, although it was based on little more than reports in newspapers. European scientists were still some distance from prevention or cure. From a scientific standpoint, an American study of the disease was by no means an unreasonable suggestion.<sup>31</sup>

Since USDA scientists certainly would have understood that a scientific study could be conducted safely, we must conclude that other considerations lay behind Wallace's adamant stand. The possibility that announcement of a study would spark widespread panic seems to have been his major concern. Irrational panic was, after all, the aspect of the 1924 crisis for which

**Irrational panic was, after all, the aspect of the 1924 crisis for which the government was least prepared and which it was least successful in controlling, especially where panic united with self-interest.**

the government was least prepared and which it was least successful in controlling, especially where panic united with self-interest. Arizona's Governor Hunt, who had a long-running feud with California over water, welcomed a chance to take a slap at his hated neighbor. Stockmen and agricultural producers in neighboring states found their products easier to sell and more profitable with California's goods off the market. Conservatives leaped at the opportunity to blame the hated IWW for the epidemic. In an atmosphere of fear, the self-interested found opportunities to exploit the situation. Wallace might have deplored that, but the government lacked the capacity to combat it effectively. Better, under the circumstances, to avoid providing any excuse for fearmongers to exploit.

#### MANAGING A NATIONAL CRISIS


The 1924 foot-and-mouth disease outbreak suggests two points that are relevant to other national crises. The first is that advance planning and preparation do pay off. By 1924 the USDA had developed detailed guidelines for dealing with an epidemic of the disease and had identified local experts competent to lead the fight against it. As soon as the disease was reported, federal and state authorities acted quickly and worked well together to combat it. Had they not been so well prepared, the low death rates among animals might have generated insurmountable pressure to avoid the wholesale slaughter that

was essential to total eradication. As it was, their measures seem to have eliminated the virus completely in California, at least for the time being.

The second is that neither then nor since are governments very effective in preventing and suppressing the rumors and panic that accompany a national crisis. In the California case, elaborate disinfection measures that followed the slaughter of herds may have been scientifically unnecessary but were probably helpful in controlling public hysteria within the state. But efforts to control the panicky reactions of neighboring states and foreign nations had little effect. Measures to certify as safe shipments of agricultural products unaffected by the disease were adopted slowly and incompletely. And even after the outbreak was over, California's agricultural organizations were unsuccessful

in securing interstate agreements on future quarantine regulations.<sup>32</sup> The experiences of the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and Hurricane Katrina suggest that, even with modern high-speed communications and a greater willingness to impose the authority of the federal government than was the case in the 1920s, controlling the psychological damage of a national crisis may still be the toughest test of any government.

Kendrick A. Clements is distinguished professor emeritus in the department of history at the University of South Carolina. His publications include "Engineers and Conservationists in the Progressive Era," *California History* (Winter 1979–80) and *Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism: Engineering the Good Life* (University Press of Kansas, 2000). He is currently writing a book about Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce.



**news from  
native  
california**

Detail from L. Frank's *Acorn Boy*, 1998, acrylic on raw canvas, 9 x 12 inches. Photo courtesy of the artist.

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# MISSILES OF PEACE:

## *Benny Bufano's Message to the World*

BY E. BRECK PARKMAN

In 1958, during the height of the cold war, San Francisco's quixotic sculptor and modernist, Beniamino "Benny" Bufano, visited the Soviet Union as part of a delegation of artists.<sup>1</sup> He carried with him a four-foot-tall model of a statue that he envisioned creating and dedicating to world peace.<sup>2</sup> Upon his arrival in Moscow, Bufano's hosts asked him what he would like to do while there. He replied that he would like to talk to Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin. A week later, to the surprise of the other members of Bufano's party, Bulganin telephoned Bufano. During their conversation, Bufano requested Bulganin's permission to construct a 400-foot-tall version of the peace statue in the Soviet Union. Bulganin politely denied Bufano's request, noting that if need be there were plenty of Soviet artists who were capable of creating such a work.

Years earlier, Bufano had constructed a 34-foot-tall peace statue for the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco. As he worked on his sculpture, the real world boiled with the violence of the times—the bombing of innocent civilians in Guernica by Spain's fascists, Hitler's antisemitic policies in preparation for the "Final solution," Stalin's bloody purges, Japan's infamous rape of Nanking<sup>3</sup>—making it a difficult time for idealists dedicated to world peace. Bufano's peace statue was the artist's

response to a world on the verge of catastrophe, and it was a call to action. Bufano revealed his purpose when he described the sculpture as a "projectile" for enforcing peace:

I sculptured "Peace" in the form of a projectile, to express the idea that if peace is to be preserved today it must be enforced peace—enforced by the democracies against Fascist barbarism. Modern warfare, which involves the bombing of women and children, has no counterpart in a peace interpreted by the conventional motif of olive branches and doves.<sup>4</sup>

After Bulganin rejected Bufano's offer to sculpt an immense peace statue in the Soviet Union, the artist asked for permission to construct a smaller version of the sculpture at the United Nations Headquarters in New York on the Soviet Union's behalf. Again Bulganin refused. He told Bufano to contact President Dwight Eisenhower if he truly desired to bring about peace. When Bufano returned home to California, he wrote to Eisenhower, only to receive a form letter shortly after informing him that the president of the United States did not respond to the intermediaries of foreign leaders.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the sky-scraping peace sculpture envisioned by the diminutive artist was never constructed in Russia or New York City. Instead, Bufano erected a somewhat smaller version of it four years later at Timber Cove, ninety miles north of San Francisco.

The Timber Cove peace statue, which Bufano named *The Expanding Universe*, was begun in September 1962, just weeks before the Cuban

## In the creation of these peace missiles Bufano captured the promise of peace and, in so doing, embraced the future at a time when many others feared it.

Missile Crisis.<sup>6</sup> The 93-foot-tall concrete, lead, and mosaic sculpture is adorned with elements of the Madonna, Universal Child and a large, open hand—themes of peace that Bufano previously had employed.

From Bufano's perspective, *The Expanding Universe* is undoubtedly a symbolic "projectile," recalling the cold war's intercontinental ballistic missiles that in 1962 threatened life on earth. But whereas the Soviet and American missiles were agents of global destruction, Bufano's missile stands for peace, its hand, poised high atop the sculpture, as capable as any missile's warhead of delivering its message. Perhaps as the leaders of the East and West contemplated unleashing their missiles of death upon the earth, Bufano dreamed of creating a visual reminder of the consequences of not choosing peace:

"Maybe if the world gets frightened enough, we'll have peace." Benny Bufano, the five-foot dynamo, sighed a deep-down sigh. Then he said, as an afterthought: "Man is a stupid beast. He seldom learns unless he is shocked into thinking. The greatest good to thinking has been the invention of atomic fission. It is terrible in its worst aspects, but God has seen fit for it to happen so that mankind can be saved. The great force of atomic fission has blown man out of his convenient nationalism into international thinking. If it is fear that must awaken man to brotherhood and humanity . . . then let's scare the hell out of him!"<sup>7</sup>

From an early age, Bufano believed in peace, but he was not the typical "peacenik." He was eclectic, suspicious, egotistical, occasionally hostile, and often given to exaggeration if not outright lies. People either loved him or they hated him. Herb Caen, San Francisco's beloved newspaper columnist, was quite fond of Bufano and regularly featured him in his daily columns, an exposure that helped elevate the artist to celebrity status.

While it is no secret that Bufano was seriously flawed as a family man, his celebrity assured him an almost saintly stature in the Bay Area.<sup>8</sup> He had few friends and only rarely did he associate with other artists. But he was well known and beloved by many people, including the writer Henry Miller, who once predicted, "He will outlive our civilization and probably be better known, better understood, both as a man and artist, five thousand years hence."<sup>9</sup> This was probably wishful thinking on Miller's part; contemporary art critics have all but dismissed the relevance and importance of Bufano's art, relegating him, perhaps, to a cultural phenomenon rather than influential artist. Yet, Bufano's sculptures still survive and, given their hard material constituents and public ownership, will for years to come. In the creation of these peace missiles—monumental sentinels that remind us of Bufano's challenge to remain vigilant in our defense of democracy, to cherish world peace, and to honor and protect the planet's children—Bufano captured the promise of peace and, in doing so, embraced the future at a time when many others feared it.

### A LIFE OF ARTISTIC PASSION

Beniamino Benvenuto Bufano was born in San Fele, Italy, perhaps on October 14, 1898,<sup>10</sup> the date most often referenced in published sources. Throughout his life, he devised his own truths to serve his immediate purpose, and as he grew older his birthdate progressed in time with him. According to his wife, Virginia Lewin, Bufano was born in 1886, but his parents differed as to whether he had been born in March or October.<sup>11</sup> His death certificate lists his age as seventy-nine and his birthdate as October 15, 1890.<sup>12</sup>



Bufano was the youngest of fifteen children.<sup>13</sup> When he was three his family moved to New York City, where he spent the remainder of his childhood. Educated by private tutors, he later attended the Art Students League (1913–15), where he studied with the famous sculptors Herbert Adams, Paul Manship, and James Fraser. Having traveled to San Francisco in 1915 to work for Manship on the Panama Pacific International Exposition, he produced the medallions that decorated the Court of the Universe's main arch.<sup>14</sup> One medallion depicted "art guiding the child to nature for inspiration,"<sup>15</sup> suggesting, perhaps, a theme Bufano later explored. Unable to afford his own studio, Bufano worked in the San Francisco workshop of the noted craftsman Dirk Van Erp.<sup>16</sup> Following the exposition, he returned home to New York and set up shop in his own Greenwich Village studio.

Shortly after President Woodrow Wilson declared war on Germany in 1917 Bufano accidentally severed his right index finger while cutting wood.<sup>17</sup> He seized upon the idea of mailing his severed "trigger finger" to President Wilson as a response to the declaration of war. Supposedly, the young artist packaged the bloodied finger and sent it off with a note to Washington but never received a reply. Over the years Bufano would fuel the rumor that he had severed his finger in protest of war.<sup>18</sup>

Bufano married his first wife, Marie, in 1918; soon afterward the couple moved to San Francisco, where that same year he met Colonel Charles Erskine Scott Wood, a lawyer and man of letters renowned for his liberal beliefs, and his wife, Sara Bard Field. A short time later, Bufano abandoned his wife and infant daughter and departed for a two-year stay in China to study ceramic glazes, a trip financed in part by Wood. He returned home with a special blue glaze that he used on a sculpture commissioned by Wood for the courtyard of his second home in the hills of Los Gatos, fifty miles south of San Francisco, which depicted a couple sitting beneath the Tree of Poetry.



*In 1913, sculptor and acclaimed numismatic artist James Earle Fraser (1876–1953) was commissioned by the U.S. Treasury Department to design a new five-cent coin. Minted from 1913 to 1938, the design showcased the American West, featuring a buffalo on one side and an Indian chief on the other.*

*The design of the Indian head has been attributed to three models, two of them identified by Fraser as Cheyenne Chief Two Moons, who fought at the 1876 Battle of the Little Bighorn, and Chief Iron Tail of the Sioux Indian Nation, a survivor of the 1890 Battle of Wounded Knee. The identity of the third model remains uncertain, but Bufano, who served as Fraser's apprentice, claimed that he was Fraser's model, an assertion that was never substantiated despite the similarities between the profiles.*

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*Buono's humanitarianism, populism, and high profile in political and social affairs contributed to his wide popularity and notoriety in the Bay Area. Flanked by Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek (left) and San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto (right) at a dinner at the San Francisco Hilton (ca. 1969), Buono accepts congratulations for his gift to the state of Israel of two sculptures: a fifteen-foot-high penguin with its young and a large cat.*

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In 1926 Wood and Field befriended the young Ansel Adams, a year after the budding photographer had met Bufano and the two had begun their lifetime friendship.<sup>19</sup> A few years later, Adams made portraits of both Wood (1931) and Bufano (1933).<sup>20</sup> In 1939 he assembled a photographic portfolio of Bufano's sculptures.<sup>21</sup>

Bufano spoke often of his association with influential people. For example, he claimed that during his first visit to China, he had stayed in the home of the Chinese revolutionary leader Sun Yat-sen, by whom he had been befriended.<sup>22</sup> While Bufano did in fact meet Dr. Sun, it is not certain that he stayed in his home. In 1937, while employed by the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project—part of President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, whose cultural programs in writing, theater, music, and the visual arts employed thousands of unemployed artists—Bufano created a fourteen-foot-tall stainless steel and red granite statue of Sun Yat-sen, called by one observer "the most beautiful man-made thing in the city."<sup>23</sup> The statue is located at St. Mary's Square Park in San Francisco's Chinatown, where Dr. Sun once lived prior to becoming China's first President.<sup>24</sup>

Years after his China trip, Bufano took his second wife, Virginia, around the world on their honeymoon, traveling to Japan, China, Thailand, Cambodia, India, France, and Italy. He later claimed that while in India, he had lived and worked with Mahatma Gandhi. While he does appear to have visited Gandhi's ashram, it is doubtful that he met Gandhi himself. Like so many of Bufano's accounts, this one was apparently a figment of his imagination.<sup>25</sup> However, he did create a 3 by 6 foot mosaic of the Indian nationalist leader.<sup>26</sup> He also assembled mosaics of others whom he respected, including John F. Kennedy and family, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Albert Einstein, and Dr. Louis Pasteur.<sup>27</sup>

In 1921, Bufano returned from China to the United States and settled in San Francisco. He taught briefly at the San Francisco Art Institute, where Sargent Johnson, the brilliant African

American sculptor, spent a year as his pupil. Proving too modern for the more conservative faculty, he was dismissed in 1923. Many years later he taught at the University of California at Berkeley (1960) and the California College of Arts and Crafts in Oakland (1964–65).

In 1938–39, still employed by the Federal Art Project, Bufano sculpted *Peace*, a 38-foot-tall stainless steel and black granite projectile that for years greeted visitors to the San Francisco International Airport. His federally sponsored work also included many of the rounded and abstract animal sculptures for which he is well known.<sup>28</sup> Highly polished and smoothly curved, they utilize a minimalist geometry to achieve their goal.

In 1938 Bufano fashioned sculptures of a seal and a toad for San Francisco's WPA-constructed Aquatic Park Bathhouse. He later led a successful effort to ensure public access to the building following its lease to a private commercial enterprise.<sup>29</sup> He is especially known for his bear sculptures. One of them, *Bear Nursing Cubs* (1930s), graces the Tenth Street entrance to the Oakland Museum of California.<sup>30</sup> Additional castings of this Depression-era granite sculpture are found elsewhere in the Bay Area.<sup>31</sup>

Married and divorced twice, Bufano had a daughter, Aloha, with his first wife, Marie. With his second wife, Virginia, he had a son, Charles Erskine Scott Bufano, whom Virginia named after her husband's friend and patron and who, following his father's death, headed the Bufano Society of the Arts, which Bufano founded in 1946.

Bufano disavowed his marriages and disowned both of his children.<sup>32</sup> The paradox raised by his personal failures as a husband and father cannot be fully explained or excused by his eclectic personality and fame.<sup>33</sup> He espoused love, world peace, and respect for the planet's children, yet he turned his back on those who loved him most. Consumed with an artistic passion, he was obsessed with his own personal vision and work, often to the detriment of those closest to him.



*Bufano often was involved in transporting his sculptures to their many locations in and around the Bay Area. Of particular delight to the public are his animal sculptures—a bestiary of rabbits, cats, penguins, mice, owls, porcupines, camels, giraffes, dogs, and bears. These whimsical creations were made to be experienced, and countless children have crawled, stood, and sat upon them since their unveilings.*

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Bufano died alone at his Minna Street studio in San Francisco on August 16, 1970. His body was discovered two days later. William Goetz, his friend and volunteer assistant, who was asked to clean out the artist's studio, collected Bufano's letters, telegrams, photographs, newspaper clippings, and brochures. These items are compiled in ten notebooks organized by Goetz and now curated in the Archives of American Art at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

Bufano is buried at the Holy Cross Cemetery in Colma, California, beneath a statue of St. Francis of his own creation. The sculpture is decorated with a Tree of Life motif and is alive with birds. Traditionally, the Tree of Life denotes continuation of life, rebirth, and regeneration, while the birds often are perceived as symbols of transcendence.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps beneath the saint's watchful gaze, Bufano hoped to transcend the pain of the world and find the eternal peace he had long sought.

#### **"PINT-SIZED, PUGNACIOUS STONE CARVER"**

Years after Bufano's death, Ansel Adams noted that, "He had an extraordinary ability to create in his sculpture almost invisible edges that could be felt as sharp, defining transitions of form."<sup>35</sup> And Thomas Albright wrote of Bufano's art:

Perhaps because Bufano's sculpture so adroitly combined this Art Deco formality with broadly Social Realist subjects (*St. Francis*, *The Mother of Peace*, *Sun Yat-Sen*), he became, for many people, the personification of what a "modern artist" should be. In his more ambitious sculpture, Bufano often spelled out his gospel of social unity with embarrassing bluntness, particularly when (as in *The Mother of Peace*) he added little mosaics of wide-eyed children to the larger works. In his animals, however—bears, walruses, horses, or snails, their form stripped down to the barest essentials—he more often found the simplicity and self-containment appropriate to the sense of uncomplicated innocence and childlike wonder that he sought to express.<sup>36</sup>

## **"Pint-sized and pugnacious," Bufano stood only five feet tall, but he envisioned art on a monumental scale.**

"Pint-sized and pugnacious," Bufano stood only five feet tall, but he envisioned art on a monumental scale. While traveling in Asia, he had been greatly impressed by the magnitude of its monumental sculptures, and it was there that he decided to combine "the ancient art form with the technical development of modern New York skyscrapers."<sup>37</sup> In addition to his monumental art, Bufano also completed many smaller works, including sculptures, paintings, and ceramics, many of which are housed in Bay Area museums. For example, the Oakland Museum of California collection contains seven sculptures, three paintings, and one ceramic piece<sup>38</sup> and the Museum of Modern Art in San Francisco is home to sixteen sculptures and one ceramic piece.<sup>39</sup> While Bufano is best known for his smaller works, it was the monumental art about which he was most passionate.

*The Expanding Universe*, the immense, 93-foot-tall peace statue at Timber Cove, was small compared to some of Bufano's other plans. His unrealized ambitions included the installation of an 800-foot steel arch on Alcatraz Island in the middle of San Francisco Bay and a St. Francis mosaic that would have covered the face of El Capitan in Yosemite National Park.<sup>40</sup> Ansel Adams, a lifelong defender of Yosemite's natural beauty, would have been mortified to hear this. Once, when the two friends were hiking at Yosemite, Bufano scared Adams by telling him of his desire to carve President Franklin Roosevelt's head on the face of El Capitan and his plan to call Eleanor Roosevelt for support.<sup>41</sup> He also envisioned erecting a 191-foot-tall sculpture of St. Francis on Twin Peaks above San Francisco.<sup>42</sup>

Bufano was a modernist but his eclectic style is difficult to classify beyond that. He subscribed to no one tradition and was little influenced by other

artists, especially later in life. What can be said is that his modernism was born in the years separating the two world wars. The First World War shocked Bufano's sensibilities, as it did most artists living on the East Coast and in Europe. Shortly thereafter, he left New York and moved to the West Coast, where the realities of the Second World War deeply affected the provincial city of San Francisco.<sup>43</sup> The result was a modernist style that defied adequate description or explanation. As Peter Plagens has noted:

Modernism, laboring far from Paris or New York under a Gully Jimson/Jack Bilbo/*Savage Messiah* complex without benefit of a real movement of its own, produces phenomena like Beniamino Bufano and Anton Refregier. Bufano, a pint-sized, pugnacious stone carver, spent his years on a giant figure of St. Francis (realized) cut from a thirty-ton block . . . and a monumental US/USSR aviator atop a hundred-foot shaft (unrealized).<sup>44</sup>

## THEMES OF PEACE

It is not surprising that Bufano chose to be buried beneath a statue of St. Francis; the sculptor felt a connection with the saint and identified with his life story. Known as the "little poor man of Assisi," St. Francis was born in Italy in 1182. According to legend, he was mocked and teased by his friends, was thrown out of the family house by his father, and lived the lifestyle of a beggar. Founder of the Order of Friars Minor prior to his death in 1226, he is said to have treated the birds and beasts as his brothers and sisters, and his name is associated with peace.

Throughout his life, Bufano sculpted, painted, and honored St. Francis. He was pleased to live in a city named after his favorite saint and created numerous sculptures of him while living in San Francisco. Perhaps the most controversial was his *St. Francis of Varenne* (1927–28), a twelve-foot-tall granite sculpture carved in Paris.<sup>45</sup> After languishing there in storage for a quarter of a century, it was finally shipped to San Francisco and

installed at the Church of St. Francis of Assisi at Columbus Avenue and Vallejo Street in 1955. In 1960 a new reverend complained that the sculpture interfered with wedding and funeral processions entering and leaving the church and insisted it be moved. The sculpture eventually made its way across San Francisco Bay to a business site in Oakland in 1961 and a year later was returned to San Francisco by Bufano's friends at the International Longshoremen's Association. Today, it stands in front of Memorial Hall near Fisherman's Wharf.

One of Bufano's most compelling sculptures of St. Francis is *St. Francis of the Guns* (1968), located at City College of San Francisco on Phelan Avenue, which he fashioned from melted-down street guns. A mosaic on the base of the sculpture depicts the Children of the World singing and, above them, the portraits of Abraham Lincoln, John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King—all victims of assassins' bullets. Perhaps for Bufano, the wisdom of these slain leaders would help sustain and protect the world's children.

Because Bufano was very young when his family moved to New York he recalled little about life in Italy.

Benny had only scraps of memories relating to his early years in the land of his birth. His memory was vague about the house where he was born, but he remembered clearly the figure of the Holy Mother standing in a niche in the wall. She was part of the family's everyday life, of every meal, of every experience. She was lodged in the background of all their thoughts. She was the family spirit, the meaning and security of their home.<sup>46</sup>

Like St. Francis, the Madonna remained with Bufano, becoming a defining element of his art. His missile sculptures depict her, as do various other works.

With St. Francis and the Madonna of his childhood watching over him, Bufano's art began to focus on themes of peace, especially the human





*In St. Francis of the Guns (1968), Bufano combined his love of his adopted city's patron saint with his support of arms control. Created from nearly two thousand guns turned in to Mayor Joseph Alioto in response to the political assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, the sculpture paid tribute to John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Abraham Lincoln, whose likenesses appear on the statue's mosaic base.*

*Bufano received the gunmetal in small pieces from an iron works warehouse. The metal was then sent in three fifty-gallon drums to a foundry in Petrasanta, Italy, where it was cast. Arriving on January 18, 1969, aboard the Italian freighter Cesare D'Amico, the graceful, nine-foot-high figure was later joined to its five-foot pedestal. It was dedicated on May 12, 1977, at the City College of San Francisco by Mayor George Moscone, who himself would become a victim of assassination. The ceremony preceded another handgun turn-in drive on May 20. In 1982, Mayor Dianne Feinstein presented to Pope John Paul II in Italy a thirty-inch-high statue of the saint that Bufano had cast, along with a ten-inch-high cross made from fifteen melted-down pistols turned in under the city's new pistol law, recalling Bufano's eloquent reuse of the material years earlier.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP ADAM

Bufano supported student protestors at the University of California, Berkeley, by donating a polar bear sculpture to the Academic Senate in December 1964 to help raise funds for the Free Speech Movement (September 1964–January 1965). Bufano often publicly backed freedom of expression, including appearances at the 1957 obscenity trial of Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* and at the 1961 victory party of House Un-American Activities Committee protestor and Berkeley student Robert Meisenbach.

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hand as a peace symbol. This preoccupation seems to have started after Bufano lost his finger in 1917 and perhaps was stimulated by the accident and the constant reminder of his loss. Indeed, the incident initiated a mystique that surrounded the artist for the rest of his life and that surrounds him still: Bufano wove the symbol of the hand into much of his art and it played an increasingly important role in his ideology. In "The Hand is the Father of the Brain," he wrote:

Blessed be the hand, the co-symbol of the mind's eye. The hand is the symbol illuminating the heart . . . It is my prayer, my hope, and my will that the hand is man's will to peace, reaching out and calling to man to abandon man's inhumanity to man and to abandon the cruelties of war. Such is the hand, the divine symbol of oneness, the spiritual tears and song of peace reaching out to the family of man.<sup>47</sup>

The open hand, known to Buddhists as Abhaya Mudra, is an internationally recognized sign of

peace. As a young man living and traveling throughout Asia, Bufano visited many of the ancient Buddhist monuments—including the temples at Ajanta and Elephanta in India, at Yunkang and Lung-men in China, at Nara, Nikko, Kamakura, and Kyoto in Japan, and at Borobudur in Java<sup>48</sup>—and would have been very familiar with Abhaya Mudra.

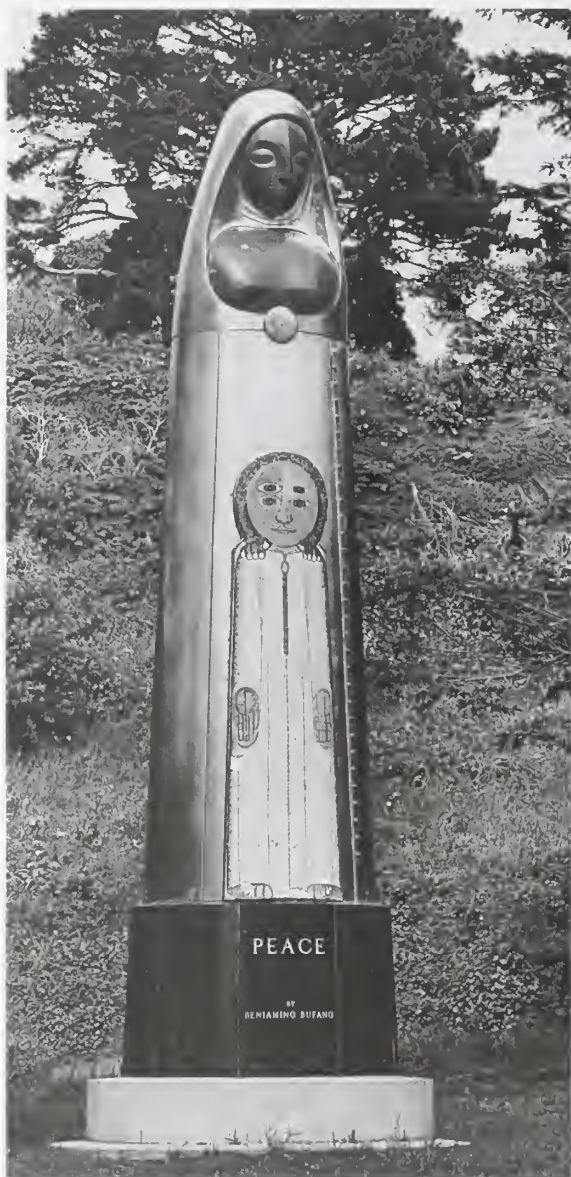
During the course of his career, Bufano produced many small versions of a sculpture he entitled *Hand of Peace*.<sup>49</sup> In 1967 he created one of his largest hand sculptures, also entitled *Hand of Peace*, a thirty-foot-tall copper, mosaic, and stained glass work located on Quail Court in Walnut Creek.<sup>50</sup> The sculpture is a large open hand, in the palm of which rests a mosaic image of the world's children standing beneath the words, "The children of the world shall inherit the earth." Bufano often decorated the palms of his sculpted hands, recalling the Buddhist art he had seen in Asia:





*Bufano's donation to the Free Speech Movement was not the first time one of his bears found its way into university hands. In 1941, he donated a three-foot statue of a golden bear to the campus newspaper, the Daily Californian. In 1953 a small California grizzly bear—the emblem of the university—was purchased for \$350 by the class of 1948 of the university's School of Law in memory of a classmate. The bear sits on a terrazzo pedestal inside Boalt Hall, where it was installed in 1955, and where, allegedly, students pass to rub the bear's nose for luck prior to taking exams.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP ADAM



*Bufano produced Peace (1938–39) under the auspices of the Federal Art Project. In an essay written for the FAP's unpublished report, "Art for the Millions," he wrote: "Long before the WPA/FAP came into existence, I offered my services to several communities at day-labor wages if they would supply the materials and let me work. . . . Movements like a government art project are not an accident; they come from great needs, the need of the artist to give something to the world as much as from his need to survive."*

PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP ADAM

## THE ART OF PROTEST

In a photographic essay of Bufano's final years, a young disfigured Vietnamese girl is pictured intently watching him at work in his studio.<sup>51</sup> Badly burned by napalm, she had come to San Francisco for corrective surgery. During her stay, Bufano befriended her. Enraged by her condition, he quickly penned an essay entitled, "We Are All Murderers," which he opened with this decree:

It has become the fashion for the people of the United States to refer to the Vietnamese War as "Johnson's War," "The Pentagon's War," "The CIA's War," etc. Is this supposed to remove the guilt from ourselves? If so, then we are the only people taken in by this pseudology. The world knows whose war it is, and so should we. Our capacity for national self-deception has become pathological.

In this election year 1968 the time has come for us to remove our mask of hypocrisy. To cut out all the fakery and self-righteous flim-flammy, and admit whose war it is. It is our bloody war. We are not fighting for the right of self-determination and democracy for the Vietnamese peasants. Hell no. We are conducting warfare for our own economic and political interests in Vietnam.<sup>52</sup>

The Vietnam War was contrary to everything Bufano believed. In numerous photographs taken by Randolph Falk during the last three years of Bufano's life, the artist wears a button that reads, "Yes, Peace."<sup>53</sup>

Bufano began to explore the symbolism of peace early in his career. He entitled one of his early sculptures *Head of Peace* (1916), which is reminiscent of the Madonna that would grace many of his later works. In *The Bear and the Virgin* (1930s), a Depression-era sculpture in black granite, he depicted a California grizzly looking over the *Head of Peace*,<sup>54</sup> denoting the peaceful coexistence of the fierce bear and the gentle Madonna. The art critic Sam Fusco described the sculpture as having "the reassuring feminine face of the Virgin placed at the paws of the



snarling bear to show that it is really harmless and cannot hurt anyone.”<sup>55</sup> The sculpture recalls the story of St. Francis pacifying the fierce wolf, a tale Bufano had heard often as a child.<sup>56</sup> Bufano explored a similar theme with his sculpture *Cat and Mouse*, also from the 1930s,<sup>57</sup> showing a mouse resting comfortably on the back of a cat.

Bufano’s first peace statue—of the Madonna and the Universal Child—was produced in 1938–39 for San Francisco’s Golden Gate Exposition. He entitled it *Peace*, but often referred to it as *Miss Peace*.<sup>58</sup> The sculpture was never installed at the exposition, and it remained in storage for many years. Finally, in 1958, it was mounted at the San Francisco International Airport, where it welcomed visitors for almost four decades. As a result of the airport’s expansion, however, the sculpture was moved in 1996 to its current location in the city on Brotherhood Way near Lake Merced.

Fashioned from stainless steel and black granite, the 38-foot-tall sculpture represented for Bufano a “projectile” in protest of the unabated spread of fascism.<sup>59</sup> Unlike his later sculptures recalling the intercontinental ballistic missiles, *Peace* resembled (albeit subtly) the large artillery shells that were common in the First World War.

Beneath the Madonna stands the Universal Child, Bufano’s representation of the totality of earth’s children. As is the case with many of Bufano’s renditions of the Universal Child, this one is marked with the symbolism of duality and binary opposition. The child is light-skinned with the hands of a dark-skinned child resting on his shoulders, suggesting that a second child of a different race stands behind him. Additionally, his forehead is painted brown on one side and yellow on the other, and there is another set of eyes immediately above his own, further evidence of a community of children represented by the Universal Child.

The bust of the Madonna adorning the top of the statue is fashioned from black granite, suggesting to some the Black Madonna.<sup>60</sup> Images of the Black Madonna are common in Europe, where



*The Madonna of The Expanding Universe, begun in 1962, peers out across the sea, watching and waiting silently for peace. Her vigilance is captured in Walt Whitman's memorable poem, "Facing West from California's Shores" (Leaves of Grass, 1891–92):*

Facing west from California's  
shores,  
Inquiring tireless, seeking what  
is yet unfound

COURTESY OF E. BRECK PARKMAN



*Bufano and an assistant work on a scaffold to rectify the installation of The Expanded Universe (ca. 1970). Bufano's response to the erroneous orientation of the Madonna's head was the installation of a new face of mosaic tile on the statue's east side.*

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they date from medieval times. But while it is conceivable that *Peace* is a representation of the Black Madonna, it is unlikely.<sup>61</sup> Bufano himself stated that, "*Peace* is one of my finest works. The simplified head could belong to any race."<sup>62</sup>

*United in Peace*, the peace statue model that Bufano brought with him to the Soviet Union in 1958, also is suggestive of the Black Madonna. Sculpted in stainless steel and granite<sup>63</sup> it depicts a projectile-shaped Madonna with two people at her feet standing face-to-face and holding hands as if in peaceful negotiation. Their glaze is blue while the Madonna's is brown. Like a lot of the modern art of the time, Bufano's creation was elegant in its simplicity. Today it is part of the collections of the Kremlin Museums.<sup>64</sup>

Shortly before his death, Bufano created the projectile-shaped granite and mosaic sculpture *The Madonna of Peace* (1970), located in San Francisco on Laguna Street near Bay Street in the Great Meadow at Upper Fort Mason.<sup>65</sup> A mosaic rendering of the Universal Child stares out from the base of the statue. Like *Peace*, *The Madonna of Peace* is marked with the symbolism of duality and binary opposition.<sup>66</sup>

Bufano further expressed the Universal Child theme in his sculpture *Universal Child* (1965), located on the grounds of the Santa Clara City Hall near the intersection of Warburton and Lincoln, directly across the street from the Triton Museum of Art. This 85-foot-tall projectile of stainless steel, cast stone, and mosaic is undoubtedly a rendition of an intercontinental ballistic missile. Like *The Expanding Universe*, it was created in the aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis and was almost certainly influenced by that event.

Near the top of the statue is the stylized face of a child and far below, near the base, is a mosaic of children. Representing the races of the world, they stand shoulder to shoulder, in unison, looking straight ahead and smiling. An anthropomorphic figure, perhaps the Madonna, stands behind them, enveloping them in her embrace. And peering

**Bufano did not create his art for the pleasure of the critics. Instead, his work was the product of an inner conviction that had little to do with the desire for commercial success or critical acclaim.**

from just above her head and shoulders is the profile of a bird's beak and wings. The bird is depicted as if flying up the sculpture and thus powering the missile on which the children are transported. This same theme of children on the wings of a bird appears elsewhere in Bufano's art.<sup>67</sup>

Much of Bufano's art—especially certain of his later works—is eclectic. Some critics have found it naive and outright disturbing, others ludicrous and grotesque.<sup>68</sup> But Bufano did not create his art for the pleasure of the critics. Instead, his work was the product of an inner conviction that had little to do with the desire for commercial success or critical acclaim. Both the *Universal Child* and *The Expanding Universe* were born of such belief. Indeed, both works stand as mute testimony to Bufano's commitment to peace. *The Expanding Universe* is especially important given its public ownership and visibility.

#### THE EXPANDING UNIVERSE

Whereas cosmologists had long assumed that the universe was static, Albert Einstein's General Theory of Relativity (1916) provided evidence that the universe was either expanding or contracting. A few years later, Alexander Friedmann used Einstein's equations to formulate his Big Bang Theory (1922), which suggested that the universe was expanding. In 1929 Edwin Hubble forever changed cosmology by successfully demonstrating an expanding universe.

*The Expanding Universe* can be considered anything but a failure. As a state-owned monument, it will be protected and interpreted for the inspiration of all Californians, including the citizens of the future.

In September 1962 Bufano began work at Timber Cove on *The Expanding Universe*. It would take him seven years to finish and would be one of his last completed works. Timber Cove was then, and remains today, a very isolated area on California's north coast in northern Sonoma County. Whereas Bufano's previous sculptures graced city spaces and urban museums, the Timber Cove sculpture was designed for the country. Of course, Bufano's decision to create a peace statue at Timber Cove was primarily the result of those in the north coast community who helped fund his work, and not necessarily of the artist's philosophical beliefs about the rural landscape. But while his earlier works invited closer viewing, the Timber Cove sculpture was intended to be seen from afar.

Years earlier, in 1946, Bufano had established the Bufano Society for the Arts in order to facilitate the management of his business interests.<sup>69</sup> The organization was composed of a dozen locally prominent men who were genuine supporters of his art, one of whom was Richard Clements, Jr., a businessman who in 1961 purchased the old Gualala Hotel in the town of Gualala, twenty miles north of Timber Cove.<sup>70</sup>

Clements began his plans to construct the Timber Cove Inn in 1962, just months after home fallout shelters became part of the country's real estate landscape. He commissioned Bufano to create the peace statue at Timber Cove in part to develop interest in the inn and to highlight the beauty of California's rugged north coast. In typical Bufano

fashion, the artist sculpted the statue for free, and in return, Clements agreed to fund a scholarship for young sculptors,<sup>71</sup> an arrangement consistent with the author's frequent practice of bartering his art for the essentials of life and things important to him.<sup>72</sup>

Clements had also hired Ansel Adams to document the inn's creation on film. For several years (1962–64), Bufano and Adams kept rooms at the Gualala Hotel. Bufano used the hotel grounds as an outdoor studio while working on the sculpture. However, the sculpture's head and hand were produced in his San Francisco studio and then carefully trucked to Timber Cove.<sup>73</sup>

Ken Frost, a civil engineer from Tiburon, just north of San Francisco, designed the foundations. Columnist Herb Caen reported that when Frost told Bufano that his monument would last for a hundred years, Bufano replied, "Is that all?"<sup>74</sup> A few months later, Bufano wielded a pneumatic drill and bored the first hole into the sandstone outcrop to anchor the sculpture.<sup>75</sup>

*The Expanding Universe's* "hand" was carved from a single block of redwood and weighed two thousand pounds when completed. Bufano covered it with Mexican tiles. Alphonso Pardinas, a Bay Area ceramist, assisted him in applying the mosaic to the sculpture's head.

After erecting the sculpture's 68-foot-tall concrete and lead base, Bufano ran into difficulties placing the 7-foot-tall head and 18-foot-tall hand atop it. Calculating the head to weigh approximately 3,000 pounds, he originally had planned to lift it by helicopter to affix it to its base. However, upon weighing the head, it was found to be 5,900 pounds, a load only the most powerful helicopters of the time could lift. Unfortunately for Bufano, such helicopters all were on their way to the escalated war in Vietnam. Unable to lift the head atop the sculpture, Bufano left it and the hand resting on the ground near the base of the monument for the next five years. Thus, when the Timber Cove Inn opened in 1963, only the skeleton of Bufano's sculpture was completed.<sup>76</sup>



In 1969, while the artist was at his studio in Pietrasanta, Italy, and Clements was head of the Peace Corps in the Dominican Republic, Bufano's friends and members of the Bufano Society of the Arts decided to take action. Assuming that Bufano intended the Madonna to look out across the ocean, they hired a large crane to position the head and hand at the top of the sculpture.<sup>77</sup> However, when the head finally was lowered onto the base, the workmen noticed that it did not fit. Because Bufano's friends felt certain of his intent (Bufano had told Randolph Falk during their many visits to Timber Cove that the sculpture was to "look out over the ocean as a friendly gesture of peace"<sup>78</sup>), they ordered the workmen to make the necessary changes in order to install the head facing west. It took some doing, but eventually the framework was modified and the Madonna was secured firmly to the sculpture's base. Upon placing the hand atop the Madonna's head, the sculpture was complete, or so everyone thought.

The sculpture now in place, Bufano received a telegram in Italy: "Surprise. Head and hand put on Madonna; Peace. Timber Cove."<sup>79</sup> He replied that he would return later that week and looked forward to seeing the completed work. Of course, he was anything but happy when he visited Timber Cove and viewed his sculpture.<sup>80</sup>

Bufano's solution to the dilemma posed by the incorrectly placed head was to create another face on the sculpture's east side. He asked Anthony Stellan, with whom he often had worked, to assist him. Together, they made a new face, a representation of the Universal Child, in bright mosaics on the floor of Stellan's studio. With no fanfare, they installed it on the back of the Madonna's veil in February 1970—an undertaking that led Herb Caen to conclude, "Peace is now two-faced."<sup>81</sup> After installing the second face, Bufano left the sculpture's scaffolding in place because he believed that there was more work to do on the monument.<sup>82</sup> Unfortunately, he died before any additional work could be accomplished.

**"It is my prayer, my hope, and my will that the hand is man's will to peace, reaching out and calling to man to abandon . . . the cruelties of war."**

While it is unclear how Bufano planned to alter *The Expanding Universe*, the sculpture does suggest some degree of incompleteness. For example, several large concrete blocks on the monument's east side may have been constructed to anchor the scaffolding. If so, then one can assume that Bufano planned to remove these features. It is also conceivable, however, that two of the blocks represent the sculpture's "feet."<sup>83</sup> Additionally, the rectangular niche in the base on the east side, located at chest height, appears to have been made to hold a small plaque, perhaps part of a plan to bear the monument's name.

On the west side of the sculpture is a door-sized opening about fourteen feet above the ground. The opening grants access to the interior of the monument, which still retains a wood floor for each of its seven stories, connected by a wooden ladder. Because the opening also allows the harsh elements of the coastal weather to penetrate inside the sculpture, it is likely that Bufano planned to cover this point of access.

According to longtime local residents, Governor Pat Brown was to have formally dedicated *The Expanding Universe* to world peace. This never happened, perhaps due to the five-year delay in the placement of the sculpture's head and hand. It should be noted, however, that it was during Governor Jerry Brown's administration that the sculpture became the property of the state of California. Whereas Pat Brown had failed to dedicate the monument, his son, Jerry, managed to protect it for posterity.

In 1982 the state acquired a sixty-foot-diameter plot of land surrounding *The Expanding Uni-*

verse. Named the Bufano Peace Statue Monument, it became a unique property of the California Department of Parks and Recreation,<sup>84</sup> the second smallest California State Parks unit after the Watts Towers of Simon Rodia State Historic Park in Los Angeles. In many ways the Watts Towers park is analogous to the Bufano Peace Statue Monument. The life and artistic vision of Sabato (Simon) Rodia, the creator of Nuestro Pueblo (Watts Towers), are strikingly similar to Bufano's. Like Bufano, Rodia came from Italy, was estranged from his wife and children, and integrated deeply personal elements of his own culture and traditions into his work.<sup>85</sup>

Rodia reached for the sky with his towers and so did Bufano. Standing 93 feet tall, the Timber Cove sculpture was larger than anything Bufano had ever created. Unfortunately, it was the only one of his more than five hundred creations that Bufano considered a failure, due to the misplaced head.<sup>86</sup> From the advantage gained by the passage of time, however, *The Expanding Universe* can be considered anything but a failure. As a state-owned monument, it will be protected and interpreted for the inspiration of all Californians, including the citizens of the future.

While Henry Miller was overly kind when he said that Bufano's fame would survive for the millennia, *The Expanding Universe* itself may remain witness to Bufano's vision when other of our modern-day constructions are long gone:

... he belongs neither to the past nor the present. His spirit is of the future, the spirit of a world yet to come, the world of brotherhood, of peace, harmony, beauty, ... One of the singular aspects of Bufano's work is the kind of materials he chooses to work with. "The man of hard materials," I called him. Granite, marble, stainless steel, combined with bronze, cement, mosaics. Durable materials and difficult to combine. His monuments will outlive our time. He will be there, Bufano, in the 25th century, when we and our puny efforts will have been long forgotten ... Centuries from now, he will be

known as the man who challenged the hard materials. Centuries from now, he will be hailed as a man of monumental vision. ... If he does not affix his signature to his sculpture, it is not out of false modesty but in full awareness of the divine nature of creation, in full awareness that he, Bufano, is but an instrument of creation, that it will not matter a thousand or two thousand years hence whether people know that it was he, Beniamino Bufano, who created them; what does matter, in his opinion, is that they should enjoy his creations and be inspired to further all creation.<sup>87</sup>

## BEACON OF PEACE

Bufano sculpted *The Expanding Universe* in the twilight of his long career. Perhaps, then, it is fitting that the statue faces the setting sun. Posed toward the open sea, the sculpture broadcasts Bufano's message of peace to all the people of the world rather than just those fortunate few traveling along the Pacific Coast Highway—a beacon for all who would approach the shore.

Like Moshe in Elie Wiesel's *Night*, Bufano attempted to warn us of the horrors of war, but few listened.<sup>88</sup> In the end, the "failure" of *The Expanding Universe* is perhaps Bufano's greatest success. In the illumination of the setting sun, visitors to the Bufano Peace Statue Monument might envision Bufano himself standing as the Universal Child beneath the Madonna, facing west from the California coast. He still will be standing there, as Henry Miller said, when the rest of us are gone and forgotten.

E. Breck Parkman is a senior state archaeologist with the California Department of Parks and Recreation. He has conducted historic research throughout California and worldwide and has been published in various books and journals, including previous issues of *California History*. The Bufano Peace Statue Monument at Timber Cove is one of the many state parks in which he works.



## SALMON PEOPLE: CRISIS AND CONTINUITY AT THE MOUTH OF THE KLAMATH, BY STEPHEN MOST, PP 5–22

<sup>1</sup> Kroeber's informant Billy Werk of Weitspus identified the name Rekwoi as "singing and speaking to salmon"; A. L. Kroeber, *Yurok Myths* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 250.

<sup>2</sup> As of February 2007, the Yurok tribal enrollment office reported 4,970 members on the tribal roll.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Spott and Alfred L. Kroeber, "Yurok Narratives," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 35, no. 9 (1942): 206.

<sup>4</sup> See the diary of Fray Miguel de la Campa in Robert F. Heizer and John E. Mills, *The Four Ages of Tsurai: A Documentary History of the Indian Village on Trinidad Bay* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), 38.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Buckley, *Standing Ground: Yurok Indian Spirituality, 1850–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 6.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 51.

<sup>7</sup> Theodora Kroeber, *Alfred Kroeber: A Personal Configuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 55.

<sup>8</sup> The surgeon's report on the harm done to the river fishery by mining is included in U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor, *Memorandum Opinion to the Secretary on the Fishing Rights of the Yurok and Hoopa Valley Tribes*, M-36979 (October 4, 1993): B-5.

<sup>9</sup> *Del Norte Triplicate Bicentennial Edition 1776–1976* (Crescent City, CA: Del Norte Triplicate, 1976), 17.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 17, 40.

<sup>11</sup> Robert F. Heizer, ed., *The Destruction of California Indians: A Collection of Documents from the Period 1847–1865* (Santa Barbara, CA: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1974), 35–36.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>13</sup> *Triplicate Bicentennial Edition*, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Jack Norton, *Genocide in Northwestern California: When Our Worlds Cried* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1979), 74, 90.

<sup>15</sup> *Triplicate Bicentennial Edition*, 43.

<sup>16</sup> *Memorandum Opinion to the Secretary*, B-6.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, B-8.

<sup>18</sup> *Triplicate Bicentennial Edition*, 34.

<sup>19</sup> Ronnie Pierce, "The Klamath River Fishery: Early History in California's Salmon and Steelhead," in *California's Salmon and Steelhead: The Struggle to Restore an Imperiled Resource*, ed. Alan Lufkin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 43.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *United States v. Forty-eight Pounds of Rising Star Tea* 35 F. 403, 406 (N.D. Cal. 1888).

<sup>22</sup> *Donnelly v. United States*, 228 U.S. 243 (1913); Pierce, "The Klamath River Fishery," 44–45.

<sup>23</sup> *Triplicate Bicentennial Edition*, 132.

<sup>24</sup> Geneva Brooks Mattz, interview with Helene H. Oppenheimer, in *Mattz Family Interviews: Oral History Transcripts, "The Salmon War and Other Chapters in a Yurok Family,"* vol. 1, Donated Oral Histories Collection, BANC MSS 92/94, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>25</sup> *Triplicate Bicentennial Edition*, 103.

<sup>26</sup> Pierce, "The Klamath River Fishery," 142–43.

<sup>27</sup> Oppenheimer, *Mattz Family Interviews*.

<sup>28</sup> The quotes by Raymond Mattz combine selections from his oral history interview (Oppenheimer, *Mattz Family Interviews*, vol. 3) and from his interviews in 2000 and 2001 for the documentary film *River of Renewal*, which, together with all of the interviews conducted for *River of Renewal*, are at the Oregon State Historical Society's library.

<sup>29</sup> *Mattz v. Arnett*, 93 S. Ct. 2245 (1973); G. Raymond Arnett was the game warden who arrested Raymond Mattz and confiscated the gillnets.

<sup>30</sup> Troy Fletcher, videotaped interview with the author, 2001.

<sup>31</sup> Zeke Grader's testimony, House of Representatives, *Klamath River Indian Fishing Rights Oversight: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries*, 96th Cong., 1st sess., 1979. Grader is executive director of the Pacific Coast Federation of Fishermen's Associations.

<sup>32</sup> Tammy Quigley, videotaped interview with the author, 2001.

<sup>33</sup> Susan Bowers Masten, videotaped interview with the author, 2001.

<sup>34</sup> *U.S. v. State of Washington*, 384 F. Supp. 312 (U.S.D., Wa. 1974); Judge George Boldt affirmed the right of members of the Quinalt and other Washington tribes to harvest 50 percent of the total catch of salmon on reservations and beyond tribal boundaries.

<sup>35</sup> *Memorandum Opinion to the Secretary*, 32.

<sup>36</sup> Fletcher interview.

<sup>37</sup> M. Cubed, *Economic Modeling of Relicensing and Decommissioning Options for the Klamath Basin Hydroelectric Project* (Sacramento, CA: California Energy Commission in cooperation with the U.S. Department of the Interior, 2006), Consultant Report, CEC-700-2006-010; M. Cubed, *Addendum A: Response to PacifiCorp's Comments on the Klamath Project Alternatives Analysis Model* (Sacramento, CA: California Energy Commission in cooperation with the U.S. Department of the Interior, 2007), Consultant Report, CEC-700-2007-004.

## MANAGING A NATIONAL CRISIS: THE 1924 FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE OUTBREAK IN CALIFORNIA, BY KENDRICK A. CLEMENTS, PP 23–42

Special thanks to *California History* staff members for their ingenuity and hard work in finding, captioning, and laying out the images that accompany this article, as well as for other editorial assistance.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Keane, *The Epizootic of Foot and Mouth Disease in California*, State of California Department of Agriculture, Special Publication No. 65 (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1926), 16–18; Jack Klein, "Foot and Mouth Disease Outbreak," *California Cultivator* 62 (March 1, 1924): 271.

<sup>2</sup> Kean, *Epizootic*, 18–19. Investigators suspected that the Napa hogs were infected by being fed garbage from the Mare Island navy station in San Francisco Bay. Winslow had a contract to remove the base's garbage, much of which came from navy ships that often purchased provisions in South America or Asia where foot-and-mouth disease was endemic. Investigators concluded the disease was then spread elsewhere in the area on the shoes and clothing of visitors to the Winslow farm (*ibid.*, 23–26).

## NOTES

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Animal Husbandry, *Report of the Chief, 1924* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1924), 1; *Congressional Record*, 68th Cong., 1st sess., April 19, 1924, p. 6716; *Oakland Tribune*, February 23, 1924, 1; February 24, 1924, 1A; February 28, 1924, 11; *The New York Times*, February 24, 1924, 11.

<sup>4</sup> U. G. Houck, *The Bureau of Animal Husbandry of the United States Department of Agriculture: Its Establishment, Achievements and Current Activities* (Washington, DC: privately printed, 1924), 280–95; Donald P. Spear, “California Besieged: The Foot-and-Mouth Epidemic of 1924,” *Agricultural History* 56, no. 3 (July 1982): 531.

<sup>5</sup> *Oakland Tribune*, February 26, 1924, 1, 2; February 28, 1924, 18; February 29, 1924, 25.

<sup>6</sup> Aside from his publications, it is difficult to find information about Hecke. The state agriculture department's records in the state archives at Sacramento have only a few documents, all dating from 1926, in the Records of the Director, 2. General Correspondence of G. H. Hecke, 1926, folder F3741:7.

<sup>7</sup> USDA, news release, “Risk Too Great to Experiment with Foot-and-Mouth Disease,” August 1, 1924, folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 July–November,” Box 266, Commerce Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library (references to folders in Box 266 of the Commerce Papers hereafter cited by date; e.g., folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 July–November”).

<sup>8</sup> Keane, *Epizootic*, 26–34.

<sup>9</sup> *Oakland Tribune*, March 8, 1924, 22, March 13, 1924, 17; Jack Klein, “Foot and Mouth Disease,” *California Cultivator* 62 (March 8, 1924): 302.

<sup>10</sup> *Oakland Tribune*, March 24, 1924, 1, March 25, 1924, 1, March 26, 1924, 1, April 1, 1924, 1; Jack Klein, “Foot and Mouth Disease Spreads,” *California Cultivator* 62 (March 29, 1924): 371; *Epizootic*, 39–40.

<sup>11</sup> “Emergency Foot and Mouth Regulations,” *California Cultivator* 62 (April 5, 1914): 413, and “University Picnic Canceled,” *ibid.* (March 29, 1924): 375; on the PAC-10 tennis tournament, see Pac-10 Conference of Champions, “Pac-10 2001 Tennis Championships Release,” <http://www.pac-10.org/sports/c-tennis/spec-rel/042501aad.html>,

accessed March 9, 2007; *Oakland Tribune*, April 1, 1924, 1, April 2, 1924, 1, April 3, 1924, 1, April 4, 1924, 26, April 15, 1924, 13; *New York Times*, April 14, 1924, 15, April 17, 1924, 10; *San Francisco Examiner*, April 16, 1924, 1.

<sup>12</sup> G. R. Werner to Secretary of State Frank Kellogg, 4 April 1924, folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 May–June”; *Oakland Tribune*, April 10, 1924, 1; *New York Times*, April 10, 1924, 5, April 12, 1924, 17; Editorial, “Outbreak in Kern,” and Jack Klein, “Imperial Valley Quarantines,” *California Cultivator* 62 (April 5, 1924): 398, 414; Spear, “California Besieged,” 534–35. For examples of the panicky telegrams sent to Hoover from California business and agricultural representatives, see folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 April 16–25.”

<sup>13</sup> Hoover to President Coolidge, 17 April 1924, Hoover to T. T. C. Gregory, 17 April 1924, Hoover to Governor Friend W. Richardson, 18 April 1924, Richardson to Hoover, 18 April 1924, and Hoover to Coolidge, 18 April 1924, all in folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 April 16–25”; *Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Animal Husbandry* (1924), 2. According to a story in the Marysville (California) *Appeal* (November 2, 1924), Hoover may also have deflected a possible embargo on California agricultural products in New York State by means of a telephone call to Governor Al Smith. See clipping in folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 July–November.”

<sup>14</sup> *San Francisco Examiner*, April 12, 1924, 1, April 18, 1924, 1, April 19, 1924, 1; *Oakland Tribune*, April 18, 1924, 1.

<sup>15</sup> *New York Times*, April 19, 1924, 1–2.

<sup>16</sup> *New York Times*, April 20, 1924, 1, 6; *San Francisco Examiner*, April 20, 1924, 1–2.

<sup>17</sup> *Congressional Record*, 68th Cong., 1st sess., May 1, 1924, p. 7631.

<sup>18</sup> *San Francisco Examiner*, April 21, 1924, 1; *Oakland Tribune*, April 21, 1924, 1; Jack Klein, “Foot and Mouth Disease,” *California Cultivator* 62 (April 26, 1924): 494; “The Arizona-California Border War,” *Literary Digest* 81 (May 3, 1924): 13; Bureau of Animal Husbandry, *Report of the Chief*, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Hoover to Flexner, 25 April 1924, folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 April 16–25”; Hoover to the Secretary of Agriculture, 1 May 1924, folder “Rockefeller Foundation, 1922–1925,” Box 528, Commerce Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library.

<sup>20</sup> Henry C. Wallace to Hoover, 7 May 1924, Hoover to Simon Flexner, 10 May 1924, Flexner to Hoover, 21 May 1924, all in folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 April 16–25.”

<sup>21</sup> Flexner to Hoover, 21 May 1924, folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 April 16–25.”

<sup>22</sup> G. H. Hecke, “The Foot and Mouth Epizootic,” *Monthly Bulletin, Department of Agriculture, State of California* (July–December 1925): 138. According to this preliminary report, the total cost of the operation was \$6,151,382.75, of which \$4,350,008.16 was paid by state and federal authorities to stock owners whose animals were slaughtered. The balance, \$1,801,374.59, was spent for “operating expenses.” Hecke provides no specific figures on the costs of disinfecting farms and ranches, but the USDA's 1926 final report on the outbreak lists the equipment and supplies provided for each twenty-four-man cleanup crew and describes a system of supply depots set up around the state to assemble and maintain equipment; Keane, *Epizootic*, 33. Obviously, the disinfection operation consumed a substantial portion of the \$1.8-million-dollar expenditure for operating expenses.

<sup>23</sup> *New York Times*, April 23, 1924, 25; *San Francisco Examiner*, April 24, 1924, 1, April 28, 1924, 33; *Oakland Tribune*, April 25, 1924, 3; Editorial, “A Brighter Outlook,” *California Cultivator* 62 (May 3, 1924): 510; Paul Shoup (President of Southern Pacific Co.) to Hoover, 7 May 1924, folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 May–June.”

<sup>24</sup> W. H. Hicks to Hoover, 24 April 1924, Hoover to Governor Farrington of Hawaii, 26 April 1924, Farrington to Hoover, 1 May 1924, all in folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 April 16–25”; C. T. Teague to Hoover, 25 April 1924, Hoover to Will Hays, 26 April 1924, Hays to Hoover, 29 April 1924, all in folder “Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 April 26–30”; Hecke, “The Foot and Mouth Disease Epizootic,” 135; *New York Times*, June 20, 1924, 5.

<sup>25</sup> *Oakland Tribune*, April 28, 1924, 6, May 8, 1924, 13, May 10, 1924, 5; *San Francisco Examiner*, April 29, 1924, 5; *New York Times*, May 3, 1924, 15, May 10, 1924, 22. The gradual migration of the story from the front to back pages of the papers speaks to the receding sense of threat.



<sup>26</sup> "Foot and Mouth Disease," *California Cultivator* 62 (June 14, 1924): 666; *New York Times*, June 22, 1924, 24; USDA, news releases, July 8, August 22, September 10, and September 23, 1924, all in folder "Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 July–November."

<sup>27</sup> E. W. Nelson (Chief, U.S. Biological Service) to F. M. Newbert (President, California Fish & Game Commission), 5 November 1924, folder "Hoof and Mouth Disease," 1924 July–November"; Acting Secretary of Agriculture R.W. Dunlap to F. R. Burnham, 2 May 1925, folder "Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1925"; Keane, *Epizootic*, 50–52.

<sup>28</sup> Reports of an unrelated outbreak of the disease in Texas and Mexico in the late summer of 1924 doubtless reminded Californians of what they had just been through and made them less prone to complain. See *New York Times*, August 17, 1924, 19; H. Bain (administrative assistant, Department of Agriculture) to Harold Phelps Stokes, 27 September 1924, folder "Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 July–November"; "A Deadly Enemy of Cattle," *The Outlook* 138 (October 29, 1924): 312–13. Donald Spear points out that it is extremely difficult to quantify the economic effects of the epidemic on California's economy; Spear, "California Besieged," 537–39.

<sup>29</sup> "Discovered," *California Cultivator* 62 (June 7, 1924): 657; *New York Times*, June 21, 1924, 17, June 26, 1924, 12; "Killing to Cure," *The Outlook* 137 (July 30, 1924): 495; USDA, news release, October 13, 1925, folder "Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1925."

<sup>30</sup> USDA, news release, August 1, 1924, folder "Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 July–November"; *New York Times*, August 3, 1924, 14, August 10, 1924, 9:12.

<sup>31</sup> Simon Flexner to Hoover, 21 May 1924, folder "Hoof and Mouth Disease, 1924 April 6–25."

<sup>32</sup> Spear, "California Besieged," 539.

# MISSILES OF PEACE: BENNY BUFANO'S MESSAGE TO THE WORLD, BY E. BRECK MARKMAN, PP 43–60

H. Wilkening and Sonia Brown, *Bufano: An Intimate Biography* (Berkeley, CA: Howell-North Books, 1972), 9, 195–97.

Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano: Sculpture, Mosaics, Drawings* (San Francisco: Bufano Society, 1968), Plate 78.

<sup>3</sup> Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> Beniamino Benvenuto Bufano, "For the Present We Are Busy" (Washington, DC: The Federal Art Project, 1939). Bufano's essay originally was written for a proposed report to Congress concerning the value of the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project. The report, "Art for the Millions," was never published. The original manuscript is part of the file "Federal Support for the Visual Arts: The New Deal and Now" at the Library of the National Collection of Fine Arts of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. For more on the history of the "Art for the Millions" project, see Francis V. O'Connor, *Art for the Millions: Essays from the 1930s by Artists and Administrators of the WPA Federal Art Project* (Greenwood, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), 13–31.

<sup>5</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 196.

<sup>6</sup> For photographs demonstrating the creation of Bufano's *The Expanding Universe*, see Randolph Falk, *Bufano* (Millbrae, CA: Celestial Arts, 1975), 45–50.

<sup>7</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 141.

<sup>8</sup> For a poignant account of Bufano's life, written by his former wife, see Virginia B. Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces* (Hicksville, NY: Exposition Press, 1980). Additionally, various interviews with Bufano address other aspects of his life. Perhaps most important is one conducted in 1964 by Mary McChesney for the Archives of American Art. The sound recording and the transcript of the interview are curated by the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

<sup>9</sup> Henry Miller, "The Sculptor who Dreams of Animals, Saints, and Children [Beniamino Bufano]," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 7, 1957. See also Henry Miller, *Remember to Remember* (New York: New Directions, 1947).

<sup>10</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 9.

<sup>11</sup> Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces*, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 213.

<sup>13</sup> Bufano's brother, Remo Bufano (1894–1948), became a renowned puppeteer and designer on Broadway.

<sup>14</sup> Donna Ewald and Peter Clute, *San Francisco Invites the World: The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (San Francisco:

Chronicle Books, 1991), 87; Eugen Neuhaus, *The Art of the Exposition* (San Francisco: Paul Elder, 1915), 87.

<sup>15</sup> See Ewald and Clute, *San Francisco Invites the World*, for a close-up of this medalion.

<sup>16</sup> Dirk Van Erp was a master craftsman and coppersmith, and a pioneer in the Arts and Crafts style. He was especially renowned for his copper lamps.

<sup>17</sup> Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces*, 36–37.

<sup>18</sup> Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces*, 37; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 42–44.

<sup>19</sup> Ansel Adams with Mary Street Alinder, *Ansel Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 199; Anne Hammond, *Ansel Adams: Divine Performances* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 12, 17–18; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 83, 115.

<sup>20</sup> Center for Creative Photography, *Ansel Adams Photography Collection* (Tucson: Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, 2002), 12, 15.

<sup>21</sup> Adams with Alinder, *Ansel Adams*, 156.

<sup>22</sup> Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces*, 67–68; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 56–60.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Dickson, *San Francisco Kaleidoscope* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1949), 278.

<sup>24</sup> Anthony W. Lee, *Picturing Chinatown: Art and Orientalism in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 123–25, 206–13, 216–18.

<sup>25</sup> Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces*, 111, 199–200; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 63–65.

<sup>26</sup> Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, 5, Plate 16.

<sup>27</sup> Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, Plates 13, 85; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 86, 95; Falk, *Bufano*, 115.

<sup>28</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 129–32.

<sup>29</sup> Stephen A. Haller, "From the Outside in: Art and Architecture in the Bathhouse," *California History* 64, no. 4 (Fall 1985): 283; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 145–47.

<sup>30</sup> Christina Orr-Cahall, ed., *The Art of California: Selected Works from the Collection of the Oakland Museum* (Oakland, CA: The Oakland Museum, 1984), 8.

## NOTES

- <sup>31</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 118.
- <sup>32</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 18; Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces*, 152–55, 192–95, 202–5, 209–11, 226; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 119–20, 213–14.
- <sup>33</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 209–10.
- <sup>34</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), 98, 206, 269–74, 392; Joan Halifax, *Shaman: The Wounded Healer* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 84–87.
- <sup>35</sup> Adams with Alinder, *Ansel Adams*, 199.
- <sup>36</sup> Thomas Albright, *Art in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1945–1980* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 8.
- <sup>37</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 67.
- <sup>38</sup> Orr-Cahall, *The Art of California*, 189.
- <sup>39</sup> Diana C. duPont, Katherine Church Holland, Garna Garren Muller, and Laura L. Sueoka, *San Francisco Museum of Modern Art: The Paintings and Sculpture Collection* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1985), 280–82.
- <sup>40</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 66.
- <sup>41</sup> Adams with Alinder, *Ansel Adams*, 199.
- <sup>42</sup> Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces*, 187–88.
- <sup>43</sup> Susan Landauer, "Painting under the Shadow: California Modernism and the Second World War," in *On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900–1950*, ed. Paul J. Karlstrom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 41.
- <sup>44</sup> Peter Plagens, *Sunshine Muse: Art on the West Coast, 1945–1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 13.
- <sup>45</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 101–13, 190–94.
- <sup>46</sup> Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces*, 1.
- <sup>47</sup> Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, 19.
- <sup>48</sup> Lewin, *One of Benny's Faces*, 68–69, 104–8, 112–13.
- <sup>49</sup> Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, Plates 36, 65; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 90.
- <sup>50</sup> Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, Plates 58–63; Falk, *Bufano*, 124; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 85.
- <sup>51</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 58.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 22, 24, 38–39, 68, 70.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.
- <sup>55</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 131.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 24–25.
- <sup>57</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 122.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.
- <sup>59</sup> Bufano, *For the Present We Are Busy*; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 140–41.
- <sup>60</sup> Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum, *Black Madonnas* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 13; China Galland, *Longing for Darkness* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), xv; Fred Gustafson, *The Black Madonna* (Boston: Sigo Press, 1991), xiv, Fig. 1.
- <sup>61</sup> cf. Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, Plates 75, 78.
- <sup>62</sup> Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 141.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.
- <sup>64</sup> Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, Plate 78.
- <sup>65</sup> Created in June 1970, this was Bufano's last major work depicting peace; Falk, *Bufano*, 88.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>67</sup> Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, Plates 27, 39, 40b.
- <sup>68</sup> Eric A. Carlson, "Notes from the Underbelly: Ridiculous to the Sublime," *Metro*, February 8–14, 2001 and "Notes from the Underbelly: True Colors at Triton," *Metro*, May 3–9, 2001.
- <sup>69</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 62. The group was established in 1946 as the Bufano Studios, Inc.; its name subsequently was changed to the Bufano Society of the Arts.
- <sup>70</sup> Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, Plate 5a.
- <sup>71</sup> "Bufano's 8-Story Statue," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 25, 1963.
- <sup>72</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 30; Wilkening and Brown, *Bufano*, 186; Mary Crawford, "The Botched Bufano," *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*, *California Living Magazine*, November 1, 1970, 14–16.
- <sup>73</sup> For a photograph of the delivery, see Susan Moulton, "Benny Bufano (1898–1970): 'Peace at the Inn,'" *The Sequoyah* 2, no. 2 (Stewart's Point, CA: Timber Cove Homeowner's Association Newsletter, 2000), 6.
- <sup>74</sup> Herb Caen, "Large Girl," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 27, 1962.
- <sup>75</sup> "It's Benny," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 27, 1962.
- <sup>76</sup> Polly Noyes, "The Boom in Rooms," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 19, 1963. Charlie Stanyan, a cameraman from KRON-TV, was present for the inn's opening and filmed Bufano scrambling up and down the "bones" of his eight-story statue.
- <sup>77</sup> Crawford, "The Botched Bufano," 15–16.
- <sup>78</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 45.
- <sup>79</sup> Crawford, "The Botched Bufano," 14.
- <sup>80</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 45.
- <sup>81</sup> Herb Caen, "Friday's Fishy Tales," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 21, 1969.
- <sup>82</sup> Crawford, "The Botched Bufano," 16.
- <sup>83</sup> Falk, *Bufano*, 45.
- <sup>84</sup> *The Expanding Universe* is accessed through the Timber Cove Inn, 21780 North Coast Highway 1, Jenner, California 95450.
- <sup>85</sup> Richard Cándida Smith, "The Elusive Quest of the Moderns," in Karlstrom, *On the Edge of America*, 28–32.
- <sup>86</sup> Crawford, "The Botched Bufano," 16; Moulton, "Peace at the Inn," 6.
- <sup>87</sup> Bufano Society of the Arts, *Bufano*, 7–8, 14.
- <sup>88</sup> Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Bantam, 1982). In Wiesel's story, Moshe was deported from his hometown of Sighet to a Nazi concentration camp. He escaped and returned home to warn the townspeople of the horrors of the Holocaust. Believing that he was mad, his neighbors ignored him.



# REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

## ALLIES OF THE EARTH: RAILROADS AND THE SOUL OF PRESERVATION

By Alfred Runte (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2006, 216 pp., \$29.95 cloth)

REVIEWED BY WALTER P. GRAY III, CHIEF OF ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND MUSEUMS, CALIFORNIA STATE PARKS; FORMER DIRECTOR, CALIFORNIA STATE RAILROAD MUSEUM; AND FORMER CALIFORNIA STATE ARCHIVIST

A theme underlying much of Dr. Alfred Runte's writing over the last thirty years is the relationship between western railroads and the creation and management of the Western National Parks. *Allies of the Earth* extends this project in the form of a commentary on the aesthetic and cultural qualities of the American passenger train. For Dr. Runte, the train is a unique moving grandstand from which to see, savor, and understand the nation and a social setting within which to experience human interactions that are denied passengers rushing along in automobiles or packed into planes at thirty-three thousand feet. The book is a call for civility, a return to unhurriedness, and the national revival of the passenger train. It is also a critique of what is described as the modern tendency to place speed, despite its myriad costs, above all other values in transportation.

The story of the American passenger train is told in the form of a declension narrative that links the erosion of American passenger train service with an increase in social isolation. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the passenger train provided

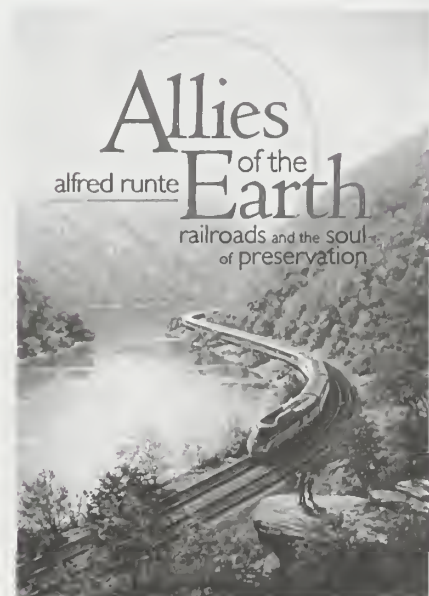
a democratic, socially textured, and leisurely mode of travel. Railroads and their trains touched the earth in a literal sense, and did so in a way that was less destructive of the landscape than later roads and superhighways. Some railroad operators understood that the scenery through which their trains ran was important to attracting passengers, and therefore the preservation of the view from the train window was important as a matter of business. Western railroads encouraged setting aside land for national parks as a form of passenger amenity, and to serve as destinations.

Serious competition to railroads began in the 1920s in the form of the automobile, the motorbus, the highway truck, and, later, commercial airplanes. After World War II most railroads concluded that the intercity passenger train was a losing proposition and devoted considerable political energy to getting out of the passenger business.

Amtrak was established in 1971 to relieve the private railroad companies of this burden and ended up operating a handful of routes as a feeble remnant of the nation's once-extensive passenger train network. Americans turned away from the rails to embrace the illusion of freedom provided by the private automobile and the seductive speed of airliners. Government policy favored these modes with subsidies for infrastructure and operations. As Amtrak struggled, most other industrialized countries improved their passenger railroads; our service, by comparison, is an embarrassment.

This history is interspersed with examples of Dr. Runte's experiences on a variety of trains—the *Phoebe Snow* of his youth in upstate New York, the *Empire Builder* in the era of Amtrak, the *American Orient Express* of a few years ago, and recent train trips in Germany and Switzerland. The mixture of historical and personal narratives is not entirely successful; the author's local observations are not well connected to the larger national impacts of the changes he describes.

Two other problems are more fundamental. Dr. Runte breezes past significant historical issues without exploration or explication. The reader would benefit by knowing more about whether the railroad companies sincerely valued landscape preservation or were more dedicated to marketing. Railroad cost accounting, criticized as a device to unfairly make



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passenger trains look unprofitable, is not described. The effect of governmental regulation on the attitudes of railroad managers is not explored. Common carrier trains are celebrated as democratic, yet the public's willingness to adopt ever faster modes of transportation (car, airplane, and, I would suggest, even the train when originally introduced), is criticized as undemocratic and somehow inauthentic. What are the real social factors at work? These and many other subjects are tantalizingly mentioned in passing and then left behind, depriving the reader of a meaningful understanding of why we have ended up where we are.

The other area of concern regards the prescription for future action. After making the case for a renewed reliance on rails, the book concludes in fewer than three pages with a call for double-track railroads and three trains a day to every city with a population of fifty thousand or more—all to be accomplished through some undefined form of nationalization. There is no attempt at an argument here, just an emotional "The land would ask for trains." The "why" is weak, and the "how" is absent. Indeed, the author precludes a discussion of means with the assertion that "Only the obstructionist asks for the particulars. . ." and further declares that anyone who wants details would be in opposition. Those desiring to reverse seventy-five years of unwise choices aren't given anything tangible to support the effort.

The book, overall, is interesting but unsatisfying. Readers who already share the author's point of view will have their opinions affirmed, while the undecided will not be persuaded one way or the other. Sadly, *Allies of the Earth* lacks the research to be good history, and the analysis to be good policy.

### CITY OF PROMISE: RACE AND HISTORICAL CHANGE IN LOS ANGELES

*Edited by Martin Schiesl and Mark M. Dodge (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2006, 288 pp., \$18.95 paper)*

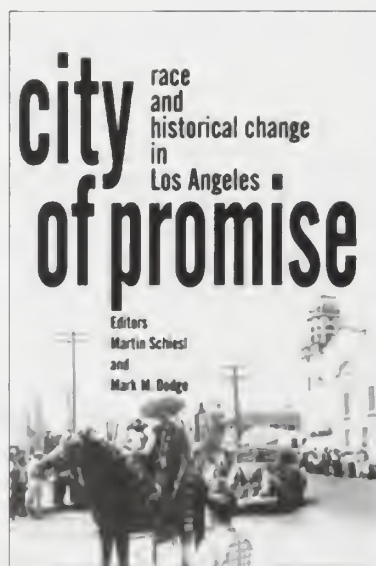
REVIEWED BY LAWRENCE B. DE GRAAF, EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

*City of Promise* joins a stream of books published in the past two decades about Los Angeles's expanding and

changing ethnic groups. In seven essays totaling barely two hundred pages, this book covers the experiences of Asian Americans, Latinos, and African Americans during the twentieth century. Three essays comprise the period up to 1945, the last four mostly after World War II, including Martin Schiesl's discussion on the Los Angeles Police Department and racial disorders.

As no anthology of such length could cover all aspects of Los Angeles's racial communities, this work takes various approaches to each group and period. Donald Hata and the late Nadine Hata (to whom the book is dedicated) present two broad overviews of Asian Americans. The formation of Chinatown and Little Tokyo and the discrimination against Chinese and Japanese are the focus of the earlier essay. The postwar period records the dispersal of Asians to various Los Angeles County neighborhoods and the group's ascent to political and economic success. Both essays are especially successful in including all substantial Asian populations, though this breadth in the later essay comes at the expense of analyzing topics beyond political offices.

The African American community presents similar contrasts before and after World War II. Delores McBroome's essay on the earlier period provides detailed information on black civic organizations but little on life, society, or culture on Central Avenue. Nor does it offer much overall analysis of the black situation in comparison with other groups. Joshi





Sides's essay spanning the years from World War II on conveys a broad array of black experiences. It weighs the gains of some groups of blacks in the immediate postwar era against the setbacks of the working class in recent years and concludes that blacks are still pursuing "a continuing quest for dignity."

Gloria Miranda's story of Mexicans in Los Angeles prior to World War II highlights immigration, concentration in a few areas of the city, and the development of a distinct Mexican American culture. Efforts at Americanization by the 1940s drove some younger Mexicans into an alternative pachuco culture. Kenneth Burt narrates the development of political organization and power following the war. From Edward Roybal to Antonio Villaraigosa, he offers a detailed narrative of a growing and expanding Latino population gaining office first through coalitions with other ethnic and labor groups and later via a Latino labor organization. Unfortunately, little space remains for immigration and socioeconomic issues.

Replete with end notes and bibliography, *City of Promise* can serve as a primer on the history of racial groups in twentieth-century Los Angeles. But the topic's numerous missing components also suggest how extensive the field of Los Angeles's ethnic groups has become. Middle Eastern immigrants, ethnic businesses, and international relations are only a few of the subjects for scholars writing sequels to this book.

## ADVENTURES OF A HOLLYWOOD SECRETARY: HER PRIVATE LETTERS FROM INSIDE THE STUDIOS OF THE 1920s

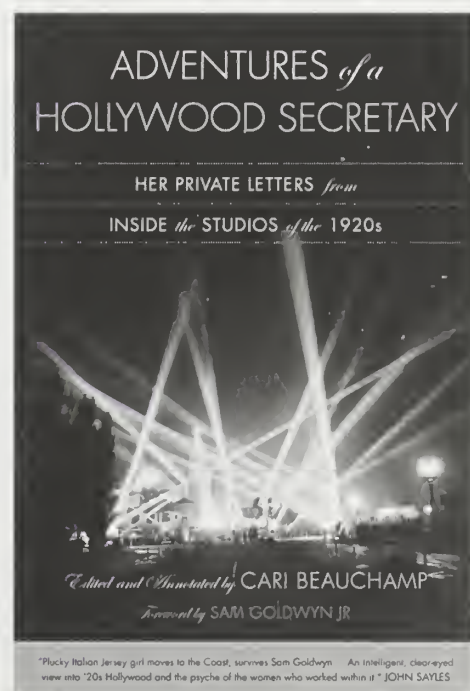
*Edited and annotated by Cari Beauchamp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006, 240 pp., \$50.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper)*

REVIEWED BY ROBERTO LANDAZURI, CORPORATE ARCHIVIST, DOLBY LABORATORIES, INC.

This collection of letters written between 1924 and 1929 by Valeria Belletti is a perfect example of the uses of archival collections, specifically manuscripts and personal papers. It also demonstrates how a sensitive and skilled editor can bring out the depth and dimension of such a collection.

As admirers of Cari Beauchamp's *Without Lying Down: Frances Marion and the Powerful Women of Early Hollywood* know, during this period women were integral to the creation of Hollywood's film output. Citing writers like Frances Marion, Anita Loos, and Jeanie Macpherson and editors Margaret Booth, Blanche Sewall, and Anne Bauchens, Beauchamp notes that "[b]efore 1925, almost half of all films were written by women. Yet as banks and Wall Street began to invest and studios became major economic forces, the work became more respectable and better paid; men wanted the jobs. Some of the early pioneers . . . continued to be in demand, but by 1930, they were the exception and no longer the rule."

Valeria Belletti, who was born in New Jersey, the only child of Italian immigrants, had not planned to work in the film industry; at twenty-six, craving a change of scenery (and perhaps a little adventure) after her mother's death in 1923, she and her friend Irma Prina spent the summer of 1924 in California. Finding the southern California climate beneficial for her asthma, she stayed on following Irma's return to New Jersey, and after a few months of temporary jobs, landed the position of private and social secretary to Samuel Goldwyn: "I come in contact with every phase of the movie industry: looking for new material; keeping in touch with the producers in New York; reading new books; turning over possible material to the



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scenario writer who happens to be Frances Marion; hiring actors and actresses, directors, camera men; keeping in touch with the art director, publicity man, the projection and cutting rooms and ever so many other things," she wrote.

Observant and articulate, Valeria documented this new phase of her life in regular correspondence with Irma. She was also, as Beauchamp points out, "very much a young woman of her times, proper but curious, taking her work seriously and ambitious to a point, but always wondering if the next man she met was husband material." She attended premieres, banquets, and other industry events, never failing to list the celebrities with whom she came in contact. With equal unflappability, she described less formal duties such as buying three hundred dollars' worth of booze for the party Goldwyn threw following the premiere of Chaplin's *The Gold Rush*. She also picked up and dutifully passed on to Irma all the gossip that swirled around her: speculation on Rudolph Valentino's unorthodox ménage; the mysterious death of director Thomas Ince aboard Hearst's yacht; Charlie Chaplin's marriage to his pregnant seventeen-year-old *Gold Rush* co-star, Lita Grey. With Beauchamp concisely but unobtrusively setting the context, these letters describe, from Valeria's unique point of view, the details of her life and work in a colorful and exciting industry.

### JESS: THE POLITICAL CAREER OF JESSE MARVIN UNRUH

By Jackson K. Putnam (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005, 462 pp., \$81.95 cloth, \$51.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY ETHAN RARICK, DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER ON POLITICS, INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

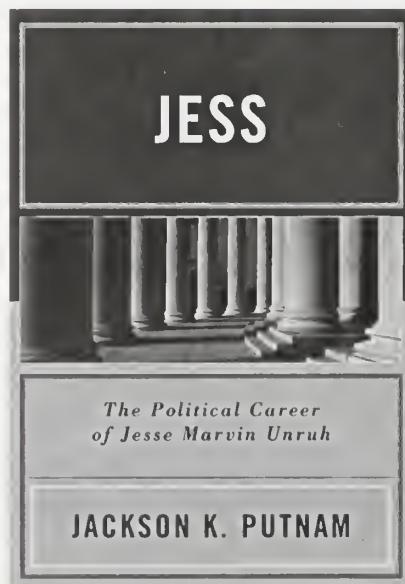
No list of California's most important—or most colorful—politicians could possibly be complete without Jesse Unruh. The legendary assembly speaker bestrides the state's post-war golden age, when the population was booming and a functional government was paving the way toward a limitless future.

And yet, curiously, no biography of Unruh has been published since Lou Cannon's *Ronnie and Jesse* nearly

forty years ago, which is as much about Ronald Reagan as Unruh. With *Jess: The Political Career of Jesse Marvin Unruh*, historian Jackson Putnam fills the gap, though only partly. As Putnam freely admits in his introduction, he gives short shrift to the beginning and end of Unruh's life, and along the way omits much of the personal drama of the book's Falstaffian subject. Rather than a comprehensive biography, Putnam has produced what he calls a "career study," focusing largely on Unruh's legislative service, especially his eight-year reign as speaker.

Like many legislative leaders—Sam Rayburn comes to mind—Unruh was interesting less for his ideological sweep or purity than for his practical skills. He possessed a genius for the tactical intrigue of legislative maneuver: gathering votes, rewarding allies, punishing enemies. In the early years, even before he became speaker, he put these extraordinary talents to good use in the service of Governor Pat Brown's policy agenda, accomplishments for which the Brown-Unruh era is now so fondly remembered. Brown's early budgets—crucial to his ultimate success—survived largely because of Unruh.

Even grander than Unruh's achievements as a strategist were those as an institutional advocate. Unruh was the great champion of a professionalized legislature with a schedule of year-round work and a well-paid, pro-





fessional staff. Without such resources, he recognized, legislators were at the mercy of governors, and Unruh was not the kind of man to be at anyone's mercy. And so he pushed a ballot measure to professionalize California's legislature, an idea at first denounced by Republicans as a partisan power grab but later embraced even by Unruh's political opponents. The idea has since spread to other states, providing legislative bodies across the country with greater independence and, ultimately, giving Unruh his most significant legacy.

Putnam chronicles these professional qualities in ample detail, though in prose that is workmanlike rather than lyrical. But the professed limitations of the book's scope hamstringing the project in certain ways. The lack of substantial material about Unruh's personal life leaves a massive gap. A poor boy made good, Unruh was an inveterate consumer—of food, of alcohol, of women. It's hard to believe that such desires were not intricately connected to his need for power, but this kind of analysis is largely outside the boundaries Putnam sets for himself, and the reader feels the lack. For those interested in the legislative maneuvering of Unruh's grand life, *Jess* will suffice. For a fully developed biography, we will have to keep waiting.

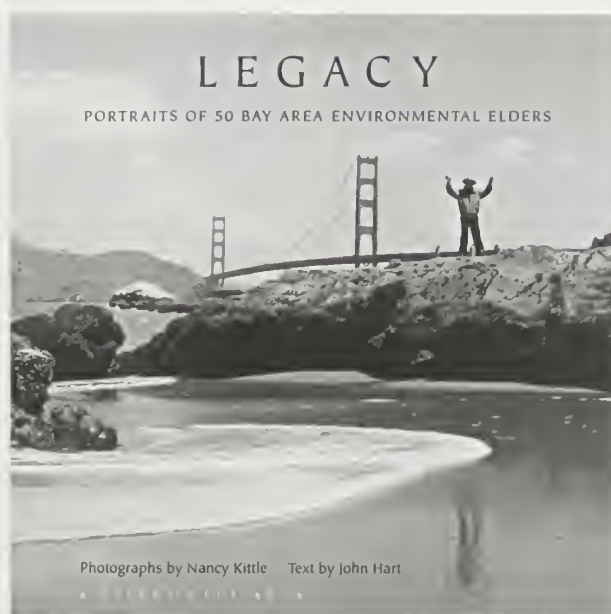
## LEGACY: PORTRAITS OF 50 BAY AREA ENVIRONMENTAL ELDERS

Photographs by Nancy Kittle and text by John Hart (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 2006, 160 pp., \$29.95 cloth)

REVIEWED BY STEPHANIE PINCELT, PROFESSOR, INSTITUTE OF THE ENVIRONMENT, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

We forget in today's world of the nonprofit and advocacy as norms that it was not always so. *Legacy: Portraits of 50 Bay Area Environmental Elders* is a tender and important homage to the extraordinary people whose efforts—bold and subtle—have shaped the environmental amenities we now take for granted in the Bay Area. It was the leadership of a dedicated, visionary, and diverse group of people that has made it so.

The book's introduction reviews the Bay Area's history of efforts to preserve open space and protect its environment. It concentrates on the transformative years between 1958 and 1972 (before national environmental legislation), when a group of planners and conservationists began to coalesce. These organizers and activists, to use contemporary language, set forth an alternative vision, which included saving San Francisco Bay, stopping the construction of freeways through Golden Gate Park and along the northern waterfront, pushing for a San Francisco Bay national Wildlife Refuge, preserving the Marin Headlands as open space, and, anticipating by twenty years the movement for "smart-growth," advocating compact growth that centered on existing cities.



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After 1973, battle fatigue seems to have set in. The passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, sharply reducing property taxes and requiring a two-thirds popular vote to raise taxes of any kind whatsoever, fundamentally changed the context for environmental activism and protection. Gone was the possibility for innovative programs and for funding conservation. California, once the nation's leader in environmental protection and proactive approaches to the impacts of growth and urbanization, slipped into small-scale and fragmented approaches, increasingly relying on the nonprofit sector to protect resources.

*Legacy* importantly highlights the work of women in the preservation of Bay Area environmental assets—women who were “housewives” and who created volunteer careers in conservation. They were smart, well informed, educated, and unrelenting. Today, this cadre of volunteers has dwindled due to the need for two-income earners, shifting yet more of the weight for environmental protection to the quasi-professional nonprofit sector.

The portraits of the environmental elders are succinct and to the point, giving insight into the personalities of each individual in a respectful and sometimes humorous manner. The photographs are beautiful and seem to capture something about the essence and soul of each person.

This book is an important reminder of a special historical period in the Bay Area, one which has had a last-

ing impact and from which there are important lessons to be learned today. These include six lessons gleaned from the interviews: 1) begin by beginnings, 2) go to the damned meetings, 3) do your homework, 4) keep on keeping on, 5) be scrupulous in argument, and 6) don't burn bridges, build them. [20] Words to the wise.

### MAKING A BETTER WORLD: PUBLIC HOUSING, THE RED SCARE, AND THE DIRECTION OF MODERN LOS ANGELES

By Don Parson, forward by Kevin Starr (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, 312 pp., \$70.50 cloth, \$23.50 paper)

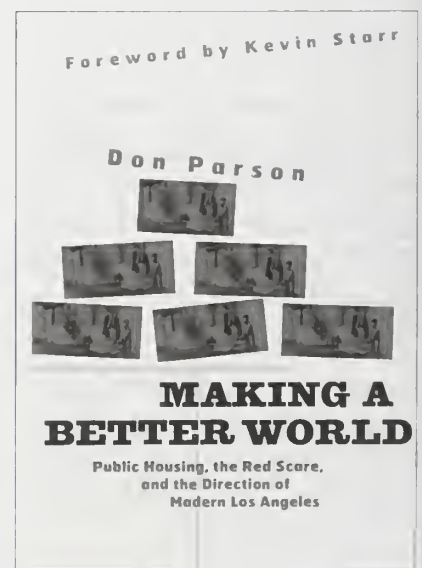
REVIEWED BY MARA A. COHEN-MARKS, PH.D.,  
PROFESSOR OF URBAN STUDIES, LOYOLA  
MARYMOUNT UNIVERSITY, LOS ANGELES

Tens of thousands camping in public parks, living in garages or on the streets, or tripling-up in apartments: although this could aptly describe the housing crisis plaguing contemporary Los Angeles, it is drawn from the city's history at the close of World War II. In 1945 discharged veterans, former war workers, returning Japanese Americans—some 162,000 families in all—overwhelmed the city's existing housing stock. The free market failure set the stage for left-leaning architects, local officials, and state legislators to promote a

public housing program. The birth of that program, the forces that led to its demise, and the privatized city that rose in its place are the subjects of Don Parson's exhaustively researched book, *Making a Better World*.

After government-sponsored projects for defense workers proved successful, a broad coalition of organized interests and Los Angeles's reform mayor, Fletcher Bowron, backed the public housing program to alleviate the crushing postwar housing shortage. Among the advocates some also championed a wider agenda of social democracy: a new urban form that would construct a “better world.”

The city's brief flirtation with public housing could not withstand the chill of the cold war. “Community modernism” was rejected as antithetical to American capitalism. Both the public housing program and the broader





urban form envisioned by social democratic reformers were eviscerated by a pro-growth business coalition promoting an agenda of “corporate modernism” through commercial redevelopment of the central city and development of suburban housing tracts.

Downtown Los Angeles’s Bunker Hill urban renewal project illustrates the demise of the reformers’ policy agenda. The razing of the Chavez Ravine barrio to make way for a major league baseball stadium illustrates the transformation of the city’s political structure. Parson’s concern here is with the “unfinished agenda of the New Deal,” particularly—as Los Angeles’s housing administrator put it—the “social tragedy of the good housing that was never built.”

Parson fails to acknowledge that increased property taxes generated by the Bunker Hill skyscrapers underwrote the creation of tens of thousands of low-income rentals throughout the city. Similarly, he scarcely mentions that vast tracts of suburbia were marketed specifically for Los Angeles’s working class. The lower-cost housing stock, of course, bore no resemblance to what had been envisioned in the city’s public housing program—racially integrated, democratically self-governed, and planned on a human scale.

Perhaps no existing urban form would measure favorably against an unrealized ideal. Still, readers will do well to accompany Parson in his exploration of paths not taken. Presi-

dent George W. Bush’s affirmation of his commitment to creating an “ownership society” comes as all manner of public goods once taken as certainties—from public libraries to public education to Social Security—have become subjects of political debate. Given the continued erosion of the community ethos that motivated social democratic reformers, Parson’s consideration of how a public enterprise could help “build a better world”—a book some twenty-five years in the making—arrives not a moment too soon.

NEW GUARDIANS FOR  
THE GOLDEN GATE:  
HOW AMERICA GOT A  
GREAT NATIONAL PARK

By Amy Meyer with Randolph Delahanty (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006, 390 pp., \$29.95 cloth)

REVIEWED BY JOSEPH H. ENGBECK JR., AUTHOR OF *THE ENDURING GIANTS: THE EPIC STORY OF GIANT SEQUOIA AND THE BIG TREES OF CALAVERAS* (1973) AND *STATE PARKS OF CALIFORNIA FROM 1864 TO THE PRESENT* (1980)

Many years ago I walked through the Presidio of San Francisco and out along the bluffs above the Golden Gate as far as Land’s End. The Presidio still belonged to the U.S. Army, and part of the area was privately owned. But the walk was a grand experience because the area was, as it still is, truly spectacular. It struck me then, as it must have struck many

others, that the Golden Gate was too spectacular and too important a place to be owned by any private party or corporation. It cried out to be owned by all of us—by the people of the state and the nation. Today, thanks to the vision and persistence of some very dedicated environmentalists, that dream has come true.

It wasn’t easy. A lot of idealism, hard work, literally countless meetings, and extraordinary political savvy were needed to make the dream come true. There were obstacles—big ones—that often seemed overwhelming. But today, the Golden Gate National Recreation Area belongs to the people of America and is accessible to everyone. That alone is worth celebrating, but the story behind the creation of the GGNRA is proof that our democratic institutions can be made to benefit the people of the nation. This also warrants celebration.



NEW GUARDIANS  
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AMY MEYER WITH RANDOLPH DELAHANTY

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Author Amy Meyer was a key player in People for a Golden Gate National Recreation Area, or PFGGNRA (affectionately pronounced *piff-gah-noora*), the group that led the movement to create the national recreation area. She probably was more involved in that process than anyone else. As she indicates in her preface, "My kitchen table became a communications center, and I an organizer, publicist, event coordinator, strategist, and spokesperson." She played those roles for over three decades. So it is a good thing that her thoughts and memories are recorded here in detail, to help future generations understand what it took to give substance to the dream.

Numerous people helped create the recreation area, and Meyer describes the roles played by many of them, including political leaders such as Congress members Clem Miller, Peter Behr, Pete McCloskey, and Nancy Pelosi; Senators Alan Cranston, Barbara Boxer, and Dianne Feinstein; and Presidents John F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon, and Jimmy Carter. Meyer also describes the absolutely crucial role played by that "Masterful Machiavelli" of the American park movement, Congressman Phillip Burton.

Foremost among citizen advocates was Dr. Edgar Wayburn, a leader of the Sierra Club and of major natural landscape preservation campaigns in California and Alaska. He and Burton held onto the big vision for the GGNRA when others were ready to settle for less. Meyer describes Wayburn's crucial contribution to the effort, including his effectiveness in Washing-

ton, D.C., where he contributed to many important discussions over the years.

This is a big book, nicely designed, beautifully illustrated, and jam-packed with the kinds of details, heroic and homely, that characterize life in a working democracy. In the future, as we inevitably begin to forget such details, this book will become increasingly useful and important. We must never begin to take the GGNRA for granted and perhaps fail therefore to defend it.

### UNCLE SAM'S CAMELS: THE JOURNAL OF MAY HUMPHREYS STACEY, SUP- PLEMENTED BY THE REPORT OF EDWARD FITZGERALD BEALE (1857-1858)

*Edited by Lewis Burt Lesley, foreword by Paul Andrew Hutton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929; reprint, San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Press, 2006, 324 pp., \$24.95 paper)*

REVIEWED BY A. C. W. BETHEL, EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, CALIFORNIA POLYTECHNIC STATE UNIVERSITY, SAN LUIS OBISPO

Lesley's 1929 edition of these two well-written, highly detailed, and intimate firsthand accounts of E. F. Beale's 1857-58 wagon road-surveying expedition across northern New Mexico and Arizona to the Colorado River has been a primary source for all who have written about the U.S. Army's brief camel experiment.

After the Mexican War (1846-48) the U.S. Army had to maintain communications and lines of supply across vast, newly acquired tracts of arid, inhospitable deserts and mountains, for which the government imported a total of seventy-seven camels to Texas from the Near East. Beale, who had made numerous trips across the country, including conducting an assessment of the feasibility of the route for a transcontinental railroad, led the mission to test the suitability of these camels both as pack animals and for riding. (Mules drew the expedition's wagons.)

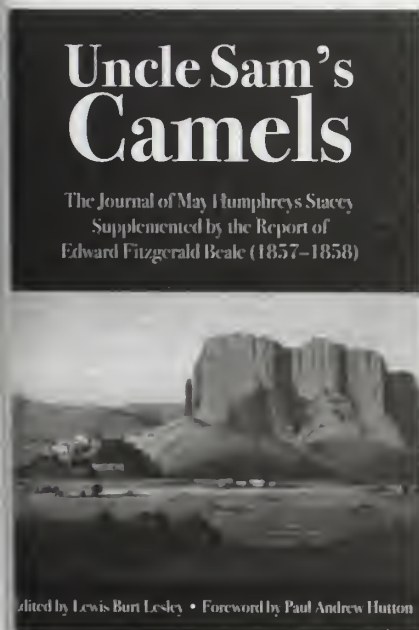
Beale continually praised the camels' endurance, docility, strength, and surefootedness in difficult terrain, but readers seeking to learn how the camels were managed, packed, or ridden may be disappointed. For example, the padding in a camel saddle has to be adjusted to suit the changing size of the camel's hump, but neither Beale's diary, nor that of fellow traveler May Humphreys Stacey, mentions it. (Harlan D. Fowler's 1950 book, *Camels to California: A Chapter in Western Transportation*, fills these gaps, though it lacks scholarly apparatus.) Beale's report is a detailed itinerary, and a better map would help the reader follow it.

Lesley usefully annotated Stacey's journal using Beale's report and contributed two chapters of his own. One sketches the origins of the camel brigade and summarizes Stacey's life. (Stacey, then nineteen, had earnestly sought to accompany Beale and



earned Beale's trust and praise.) The other describes the dispersion of the camels after the experiment ended. Despite Beale's efforts, the army sold the camels after the Civil War to private owners who used them to pack freight, exhibited them in circuses and races, and, eventually, turned many of them loose. Mysterious, wild camels were sighted in the desert for years.

Lesley's work holds up well, but one wishes that Hutton, whose new preface includes a fuller account of Beale's adventurous career, had provided some current annotations of his own and an up-to-date bibliographic note. Minor shortcomings aside, the book's fascinating and significant content makes it well worth having.



## BIOTECH: THE COUNTERCULTURAL ORIGINS OF AN INDUSTRY

By Eric J. Vettel (*Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, 296 pp., \$39.95 cloth*)

REVIEWED BY CARROLL PURSELL, ADJUNCT PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY, MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

In her provocative 2003 meditation *Where I Was From*, Joan Didion wrote, "this extreme reliance of California on federal money, so seemingly at odds with the emphasis on unfettered individualism that constitutes the local core belief, was a pattern set early on. . . ." [23] She was writing about water resources in the Sacramento Valley, but, as she shows, the same was true of most of the other

major resources in much of the rest of the state.

Eric J. Vettel discovers a similar pattern in his excellent history, *Biotech: The Countercultural Origins of an Industry*. Concentrating on the Bay Area in the postwar years, Vettel finds that three universities (the University of California, Berkeley, the University of California, San Francisco medical school, and Stanford University) led in converting a swelling stream of federal research funds in the life sciences first into a rapidly growing body of fundamental knowledge about the "science of life," and then, with additional help from academic entrepreneurs and venture capitalists, into what is now called the biotechnology industry, encompassing such marvels as genetic engineering, recombinant DNA, cloning, and stem-cell research.

Vettel describes "a young, impatient, dynamic region where people who took risks to shape and then lead a scientific field." His story, he writes, is about a "dramatic social and cultural change, a transforming political economy, and a sudden revolution in the biological sciences." [x] The tipping point came in the 1960s at a time when the movement for social change, and the Vietnam War in particular, led to both a redirection of government funds from basic to more applied research and a growing public demand that science be redirected toward practical results that would benefit "the people."



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At the same time there were those in the biomedical community who raised the alarm over the danger that “useful” might not always have a positive connotation and that some applications of science might well prove both dangerous to the public and offensive to the moral and political standards of some scientists. When Harvard biologist Jonathan Beckwith won the Eli Lilly Award in 1970, he charged that “unfortunately in this country, those who make the decisions about awards equate serving society with serving the interests of that small number of people who run our government and our industries.” He donated his prize money to the Black Panthers.

The turmoil within the field led to the convening of a crisis meeting at Asilomar on California’s Monterey Peninsula on February 20, 1975, to try to find a strategy to defend genetic engineering. With a handpicked list of attendees, closed proceedings with only limited press access, and a carefully limited agenda, the conference did little to find a way out of the malaise. That was being crafted elsewhere, especially in Berkeley, where a handful of scientists with their colleagues from Stanford founded the biomedical firm Cetus. The field was “saved” by its industrialization, a story that Vettel lays out in convincing detail. It is sobering that the leading scientists in the field found there salvation not by eschewing capitalism, as Beckwith had suggested, but by embracing it.

### VISIT OF CYRILLE PIERRE-THEODORE LAPLACE TO FORT ROSS AND BODEGA BAY IN AUGUST 1839

*Translated and annotated by Glenn Farris (Jenner, CA: Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 2006, 64 pp., \$10.50 paper)*

REVIEWED BY KEN OWENS, EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, SACRAMENTO

In April 1839 Captain Cyrille Laplace, a career French naval officer, reached the California coast during a lengthy round-the-world voyage of observation and scientific exploration that he commanded aboard the frigate *L'Artémise*. This account of the nine days he spent at Ross Colony is excerpted and expertly translated from Laplace’s detailed six-volume

description of the voyage by Glenn Farris, a state park specialist who is a dedicated student of the Russian experience in California. Laplace’s narrative provides an educated, urbane French perspective on Russia’s most distant imperial outpost only two years prior to its disbanding and sale to John Sutter. An expert navigator, Laplace also proved to be an able diplomat and candid commentator on the Russian-American Company’s management of its small northern California establishment.

After they had located Fort Ross from the sea and fired a ship’s cannon to alert the garrison, Captain Laplace and his men were visited by a Russian agent and a few Alaskan natives from Kodiak Island who arrived in two skin-covered baidarkas.





Once aboard, the visitors guided the frigate southward to an anchorage in Bodega Bay.

Early the following morning, the captain was welcomed by Governor Alexander Rotchev, head of the Russian establishment, who immediately impressed Laplace with his aristocratic manners, education, and perfect command of the French language. "Our relations," Laplace writes, "were soon all that I could have and ought to have desired, not less for my pleasure than for my instruction." [20]

After spending an agreeable first day touring the Russian Bodega Bay facilities, Governor Rotchev and his entourage escorted Captain Laplace the following day on the twenty-mile horseback trip to Fort Ross. The day was hot, the landscape arid and undeveloped, and since Laplace was not a good rider "to the regret of our guide" as he confessed, he found the trip both fatiguing and boring. But on his arrival he was warmly welcomed by Helena Rotchev, the governor's lady, "young and gracious . . . with a good figure and distinguished manners, speaking fluent French . . ."

The French captain must have been a charming guest during his brief stay. After describing the spirited conversation at his welcoming dinner, Laplace revealed one strong basis for the bond he quickly formed with the governor and his lady: "Poor exiles! We spoke of Europe, of our families, of our hopes of return, happy to enjoy

a moment of abandon in which a happy mutual independence allowed us to indulge. Our new acquaintanceship soon became an old relationship." [27]

Captain Laplace was a close observer and an able diplomat as well as a pleasant companion for the Rotchevs. Over the next few days, he visited, either in the company of the governor or his lady, "all that Fort Ross and its environs could offer of interest to my curiosity." [33] Included in his perambulations were the Russian farming operations, which he thought superb, and the neighboring Kashaya Pomo village, where he ingratiated himself with the native notables by making gifts of beads, small copper ornaments, and cigars. Perhaps sharing the romantic admiration for precontact native societies popularized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in France, Laplace took detailed notes on Kashaya life as he witnessed it, but his overall characterization of "these children of nature" was not a flattering one.

This slim volume makes an essential contribution to our understanding of the Russian presence in California and Russian relations both with the Pomo people and the Alaskan natives who came south as part of the tsar's frontier vanguard. Glenn Farris and the Fort Ross Interpretive Association are to be commended for placing this work before the public.

## FROM LEAD MINES TO GOLD FIELDS: MEMORIES OF AN INCREDIBLY LONG LIFE

*By Henry Taylor, edited and with an introduction by Donald L. Parman  
(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006, 230 pp., \$24.95 paper)*

## SONORA PASS PIONEERS: CALIFORNIA BOUND EMIGRANTS AND EXPLORERS, 1841-1864

*By David H. Johnson (Sonora, CA: Tuolumne County Historical Society, 2006, 208 pp., \$30.00 cloth)*

REVIEWED BY RONALD H. LIMBAUGH, EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

Despite the advent of e-publishing, the number of traditionally published books does not seem to be shrinking, and neither does interest in the American West. The two books in review illustrate the diversity that now attends western literature. They overlap in the time period covered and traverse much of the same turf, but vary widely in style and content. They also cater to different audiences. Henry Taylor's personal history is extraordinary only in its longevity. A semiliterate Midwestern farmer and miner who died in 1931 at age 106, he lived through the formative period of American expansion and economic development. Late in life he dictated his reminiscences to family members in at least

## REVIEWS

two different oral interviews nearly thirty years apart. The handwritten notes of these oral sessions eventually disappeared but not before they were transcribed for family use by a highly inaccurate typist, who may or may not have remained faithful to the author's spelling and syntax. The result was a problematical typescript that much later came to the attention of Donald L. Parman, a retired professional historian who worked diligently to shape it into a readable narrative.

David H. Johnson's book is quite different, yet in some respects complements the Taylor story. Taylor's favorite and apparently most extensive memory was of his 1852 trek to the California gold fields, following the footsteps of the Forty-niners and repeating many of their follies. Johnson, a retired teacher and careful scholar, prepared this narrative history and

guide after years of hiking, photographing, and researching the people and paths of overlanders who pioneered the highest and worst route over the Sierra in the years between 1852 and 1855. His work is selective but finely crafted, a descriptive chronicle as well as a reference tool. Casual readers will appreciate the historic and contemporary photographs that highlight this work, but its most distinctive feature are twenty-one topographic maps, drawn by the author himself, showing the pioneer routes over Sonora Pass and nearby alternates in painstaking detail.

Johnson traced the Sonora Pass routes and families by compiling data from census records, newspapers, family narratives, correspondence, interviews, and archival records, but his perspective on social and economic themes might have been enlarged by a broader reading of the pertinent

scholarly literature in these fields. Parman relied on standard reference works to clarify and contextualize the Taylor memoirs, but excessive editing and frequent explanatory notes buried in the end pages are often more distracting than edifying.

Western American literature remains popular and prolific. Thousands of new books pour off the presses each year, offering consumers a significant number of choices. Johnson's book is geared to a specialized audience of readers interested in historic routes and travelers over the southern Sierra. The value of Taylor's narrative lies less in its descriptive content than in its personification of attitudes and traditions within America's nineteenth-century heartland, where familial ties and extended relationships provided both financial and emotional support.





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ABOVE: "Children of the World" mosaic at the base of Beniamino Benvenuto Bufano's sculpture *St. Francis of the Guns* (1968). Standing on the west lawn of the City College of San Francisco's Science Building, the metal sculpture embellished with tile mosaic was forged from firearms voluntarily turned in to city authorities after the 1968 assassination of Robert F. Kennedy. See "Missiles of Peace: Benny Bufano's Message to the World," page 43.

PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP ADAM

FRONT COVER: An Iowa farmer and agricultural economist, Henry Cantwell Wallace (1866–1924) served as secretary of agriculture under Presidents Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge from 1921 to 1924. As assistant professor in dairying at Iowa State College of Agriculture, Wallace's talents were recognized by many. As George Washington Carver wrote, "No one missed Prof. Wallace's class, if they could help it. He was a born teacher; a man too big in heart, mind and soul to be little in any particular." See "Managing a National Crisis: The 1924 Foot-and-Mouth Disease Outbreak in California," page 23.

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nationally recognized symbol of UCLA. David Allison  
drew his inspiration from the church of San Ambrogio in  
Milan, Italy. The loggia's three arches, and the frescoes  
on its ceilings, represent the "Instruction of the World"  
in ancient, medieval, and modern times.

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## FROM THE EDITOR

### BUILDING ON THE PAST

Not only connoisseurs of architecture and basketball are likely to be attracted to and engrossed by the subjects probed on the following pages. Who doesn't admire Bill Russell, one of basketball's all-time greats, newly inducted into the International Basketball Federation's Hall of Fame? And who doesn't hold a poignant memory of classrooms and playing fields at schools attended years ago? Hundreds of thousands of little and big feet have trod the halls, grounds, and classrooms of campuses designed by Allison & Allison, one of California's foremost school architecture firms in the early decades of the twentieth century. And countless thousands of basketballs have bounced on the floor of the University of San Francisco's War Memorial Gymnasium for nearly half a century. These old places, the backdrop for immortal legends and promising futures, are the settings for this issue of *California History*.

Back in the 1950s, when Oakland-reared Russell led USF to a fifty-five-game winning streak and successive NCAA championships in 1955 and 1956, the team had no campus home court. Today, a six-million-dollar update of the War Memorial Gymnasium will accommodate fourteen Division I intercollegiate athletic programs—the building's first major renovation since it opened in 1958. It is, Aram Goudsouzian suggests, the house that Bill Russell built. In his essay, "The House That Russell Built: Bill Russell, the University of San Francisco, and the Winning Streak That Changed College Basketball," Goudsouzian relates the extraordinary skill and drive Russell demonstrated as champion of the Dons, the remarkable circumstances and daring surrounding his victorious San Francisco seasons, and the historic contributions made to college basketball from the campus on a hill.

Today, the behemoth Los Angeles Unified School District is revolutionizing the elementary and secondary educational built environment with a multibillion-dollar, multiyear construction and repair project. Among the schools identified for renovation is Van Nuys High School in the San Fernando Valley, designed by Allison & Allison in 1914 and modernized by the firm after the 1933 Long Beach earthquake. It and many dignified, irreplaceable, and handsome structures designed by the Allison brothers—a number of them listed in inventories of significant California architecture—have been little recognized. Sally Sims Stokes' double-wide essay, "In a Climate Like Ours: The California Campuses of Allison & Allison," addresses this oversight, filling the chasm left by inattention to these prolific architects who themselves responded in their day to rapidly expanding school demographics. With reference to both old and new concerns—including earthquake retrofit and safety measures, innovative materials use, and design inspiration drawn from classical and up-to-the minute forms—the Allisons built on the past as they broke new ground with hundreds of projects up and down California.

JANET FIREMAN





*The Fernery*, Photograph Album No. 130, California Historical Society, FN-36521

## The Fernery

This albumen print, featured in CHS' recent exhibit, "Past Tents: The Way We Camped," documents the 1890 outing of the "Merry Tramps of Oakland"—a grassroots group of artistic, avant-garde campers from San Francisco—to Guerneville. It is only one of many images of picnic and camping scenes in Mendocino County and on the Russian River that are found throughout the pages of the album kept by Dr. Granville E. Shuey (1863–1952) of Oakland, California.

Dr. Shuey's album is one of more than 220 volumes that comprise the California Historical Society's photograph album collection, whose contents range from turn-of-the-century family vacations in California to professional photographers' visual documents of industry and architecture. Mostly dating from the late 1800s to the early 1900s, the collection includes the work

of Carleton Watkins, Laura Adams Armer, I.W. Taber, Oscar V. Lange, Eadweard Muybridge, and numerous amateur photographers—all of whom explored a rich variety of subject matter to capture California's life and times.

BY ARAM GOUDSOUZIAN

# The House That Russell Built

*Bill Russell, the University of San Francisco, and the Winning Streak That Changed College Basketball*

From 1954 to 1956, the University of San Francisco Dons captured two NCAA titles and fashioned a fifty-five-game winning streak.

During this period, they transformed from anonymous underachievers in a weak-sister conference into the titans of college basketball, effecting fundamental change and infiltrating the consciousness of the sporting world. A snapshot of big-time college basketball before the streak revealed white players focused upon deliberate, earthbound offensive patterns. After the streak, that picture illustrated a racially integrated unit whose players placed a premium on speed, aggressive defense, and the control of not just horizontal but vertical space.

USF delivered to the sport a truly national profile, a more dynamic style of play, and players who rewrote its cultural meaning. This sea change resulted from a host of historical and social factors: the nation's evolving stance on race relations in the 1950s, the Bay Area's relative racial

liberalism, USF's Jesuit mission, a courageous coaching staff, and a band of black and white athletes who embraced their team's goals and its consequences. But if one man was the avatar of this transformation, it was Bill Russell.<sup>1</sup>

Russell's USF experiences shaped the future as well. As a star with the NBA's Boston Celtics, Russell grew into a figure of controversy. His outspokenness against racism and militant public persona challenged the myth that sport fosters racial democracy. At USF he seemed the opposite, projecting an enthusiastic, optimistic liberalism. But the Dons' integrationist pioneering exposed the team to both crude and subtle racism, planting the seeds of Russell's future ideology.<sup>2</sup>

*William F. "Bill" Russell began his legendary career at the University of San Francisco (1952–56), where he led the Dons to a fifty-five-game winning streak and consecutive NCAA championships in 1955 and 1956. An innovator on the court during his collegiate and professional years, he was enshrined in the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1975.*

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## PIONEERS

William Felton Russell lacked coordination and confidence as a young teenager. His basketball skills developed slowly. At McClymonds High School in Oakland, he progressed from third-string junior varsity center to varsity bench-warmer to starting center. After graduating in January 1952, in the middle of basketball season, he joined a traveling squad of “split-year” graduates. That winter his game flourished. Though friendly and funny, Russell was also an introvert and an intellectual, and only during that tour did he learn how to study other players, how to craft new methods of aggressive and airborne defense,

how to find beauty in the sport’s little details. By another stroke of luck, USF scout Hal DeJulio had seen one of Russell’s high school games, and when he invited him to a campus workout, Coach Phil Woolpert marveled at his timing, leaping ability, and sense of inner confidence. “But he was so ungainly,” the coach added.<sup>3</sup>

In September 1952, the eighteen-year-old freshman trekked across the Bay Bridge on a basketball scholarship to USF. Though only fifteen miles from his West Oakland home, USF was an alien universe. Russell was from a bleak, working-class neighborhood and had attended schools with overwhelmingly black majorities. Now he



*The University of San Francisco, ca. 1955. “The Barracks,” a set of Quonset huts built from army surplus materials, housed USF’s residential students—a rather primitive arrangement by today’s standards but one shared by most universities following World War II. The campus boasted an impressive cathedral and a new library, but it lacked a gymnasium, giving rise to the Dons’ nickname, “The Homeless Dons.”*

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lived on a campus tucked atop a hill north of Fulton Street and just east of Golden Gate Park with a mostly white student population. While some Hispanics and Filipinos dotted the sea of white faces, Russell and fellow basketball recruit Hal Perry represented the entire black population of the freshman class. Like all incoming first-years, Russell wore an initiation sweater, performed tasks for upperclassmen, and donned a "dink" hat until the Freshman Smoker at the end of September. Tall and black, he stuck out; the student newspaper, featuring him in its first issue, labeled him "a potential Globetrotter."<sup>4</sup>

At USF, Russell received an education not only in Jesuit logic and principles, but also in basketball. During his first official practice, he could not perform a warm-up calisthenics of walking while squatting. Some teammates grumbled that Woolpert had wasted a scholarship on an awkward freak. But freshman team coach Ross Giudice nurtured his new center's development, patiently teaching him the fundamentals. Russell also drove his own progress in late-night gym sessions. He possessed a deep desire to excel and a strong self-confidence.<sup>5</sup>

If Giudice cultivated Russell's physical skills, K. C. Jones broadened his basketball intelligence. Jones, who had earned a basketball scholarship to USF one year before Russell, may have been the most popular student on campus. "He was so nice, and so quiet," remembered teammate Mike Preaseau. "But what a leader!" Both on and off the court, Jones related to people with a certain moral clarity. Out of shyness, however, he barely spoke to Russell for a month. Then, as if someone flipped a switch, they began to talk about basketball, their mutual intellectual passion. They analyzed it as "a game of geometry—of lines, points, and distances." Rebounding relied on controlling space. Defense was an action rather than a reaction, an attack upon an opponent's comfort zone. Russell had always considered his basketball development an individual journey,

but the more he talked to Jones, the more he saw the game as a team enterprise, a series of collective contingencies and adjustments.<sup>6</sup>

Russell and Jones shared not only an analytical bent, but also an anomalous status. In the mid-1950s, only about 10 percent of basketball programs at predominantly white schools recruited black players. "You could count the number of black players on West Coast teams on the fingers of one hand," remembered Coach Pete Newell. Yet, as universities recognized the financial potential in sports, they began to view black athletes as valuable resources. Ollie Matson and Burl Toler had starred for an undefeated USF football squad in 1951, but after that season the program was dropped for financial reasons. Like urban Catholic schools across the country, USF found a more lucrative public profile in basketball: the university could offer fewer scholarships and more games. In 1949, Newell had coached USF to the National Invitational Tournament championship. A team that included Ross Giudice and Hal DeJulio entered as 20-1 underdogs, only to charm the New York crowd with a series of dramatic upsets culminating in a title victory over Loyola.<sup>7</sup>

In 1950, Phil Woolpert took over for Newell. A former prison guard, social worker, and army veteran, Woolpert had been coaching the USF freshmen and the varsity at St. Ignatius High School, a prep school with strong ties to the university. This twitchy, sharp-witted chain-smoker with a long, angular face and a thin mustache bared his anxieties on the surface. "Phil would make coffee nervous," remarked former player Mike Farmer. Before games, Woolpert suffered from facial tics and a roiling stomach. With a gentle soul and an intellectual's sense of self-awareness, he fretted about the pressures of his job and worried about his own coaching abilities. In his first three years, the team went 31-42. Alumni openly belly-ached. One called him "a lousy coach" to his face. Woolpert almost quit.<sup>8</sup>

But Woolpert was engineering the resurgence of USF basketball, unearthing gems others failed to mine—especially African Americans. Depending on volunteer scouts like DeJulio, he recruited throughout northern California. He embraced racial liberalism well before his contemporaries, learning from a politically forthright father and a childhood in an integrated Los Angeles neighborhood. He also operated in a relatively tolerant context. The Bay Area's racially liberal reputation diffused potential objections to recruiting black players. USF, a school of only about 1,100 full-time students—and without a symbolic status akin to a large state university—could incorporate black players without much public ado. The Jesuit mission, moreover, emphasized democratic values grounded in the Gospels, advocating principles of individual rights, social conscience, and racial tolerance. Still, prior to 1951 only one African American, Carl Lawson, had played for USF.



*A former prison guard and social worker, Phil Woolpert (1915–1987) helped revitalize USF basketball. In 1955, at age forty, he became the youngest coach in NCAA history to win the national championship. Named Coach of the Year in 1955 and 1956, he was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1992.*

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*Woolpert was engineering the resurgence of USF basketball, unearthing gems others failed to mine—especially African Americans.*

By recruiting Jones, Russell, and Perry—the core of his greatest teams—Woolpert deserves credit as a pioneering figure in the integration of college basketball.<sup>9</sup>

Yet, during the 1952–53 season, Woolpert's squad languished in mediocrity, finishing 11–12 overall and 6–2 in the newly formed California Basketball Association (CBA), forerunner of the West Coast Conference (WCC). With Russell averaging twenty points a game, the freshman team offered hope of a promising future, going 19–4. In one tournament with the Olympic Club, a team with various college and AAU All-Americans, Russell blocked numerous shots, scored twenty-five points, and won the “Most Promising Player” award. He displayed this same athletic promise in track and field, high-jumping 6 feet 4 inches as a freshman and 6 feet 7 inches the next year. “There’s the man who could be the first to clear seven feet,” marveled a rival coach.<sup>10</sup>

How would Russell's extraordinary gifts translate against elite basketball talent? Rampant speculation accompanied his varsity debut in Kezar Pavilion on December 1, 1953, against the University of California. Cal's All-America center Bob McKeen stood 6 feet 7 inches, weighed 225



pounds, and combined rugged pivot play with a deft shooting touch. Many figured that he would outsmart and outmuscle the skinny sophomore. An overflow crowd watched McKeen try a hook from the right wing. Russell swatted it into the third row. "Ooooooooooh," the crowd hummed. Russell scored twenty-three points and blocked twelve more shots. The *San Francisco Chronicle* conjectured that this "aerial with arms" would become one of the Bay Area's all-time basketball greats. The Dons won 51-33 and the team looked like a contender for the CBA championship.<sup>11</sup>

But USF's 1953-54 campaign never fulfilled the promise of that idyllic debut. The next night, in the locker room at Fresno State, Jones's appendix burst. Jones spent four days unconscious, barely sidestepping death. Weak and twenty-five pounds lighter, he missed the rest of the season. As USF finished 14-7, Woolpert was criticized for guiding a team of underachievers.<sup>12</sup>

Although Russell garnered individual accomplishments—making various regional all-star teams, averaging a team-high 19.8 points and 18.8 rebounds a game—the Dons failed to become real winners. The older players refused to accept the African Americans. "We ran into the racial issue," admitted Hal Perry. "They didn't see the need to have us in the school." According to Perry, Carl Lawson already had been driven off the team by prejudiced, resentful white players. Although Perry hated such treatment, he adjusted better than Russell, having grown up among mostly whites in the northern California timberlands of Ukiah—in stark contrast to Russell's predominantly black West Oakland neighborhood. Russell, ultra-sensitive to slights, bubbled with indignation, even punching an upperclassman who called him a cruel nickname. Looking back, he blamed both himself and his teammates; none had possessed the fortitude to challenge the team's culture. Riddled by personal jealousies, the Dons never became greater than the sum of their parts.<sup>13</sup>



*Sophomore Russell posed in civilian clothes for his student identification card. In his autobiography, *Second Wind*, he wrote that his years at USF were marked by "a continual sense of discovery."*

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Moreover, Russell butted heads with his coach. For all his self-driven improvement, he loafed through practices. "He was a lazy player," recalled Woolpert. "I kicked him out of the gym many, many times." They also clashed over playing style. While Russell envisioned new possibilities in his airborne, shot-blocking defensive style, Woolpert taught conventional defensive philosophies geared to slower, stouter centers. When Russell jumped to block shots, Woolpert admonished him. Both men possessed complex, fervent personalities. Both mapped new directions for college basketball. Both recognized the importance of their partnership, one bound by admiration and respect. Yet neither satisfied the other.<sup>14</sup>

## PLAYERS TO WATCH

By the start of the 1954-55 season, Russell stood almost 6 feet 10 inches. He possessed a decent hook shot, moved around the post when denied entry passes, and no longer took unnecessary dribbles. He also could back down his defender, crouch low, and spring for a two-handed, back-to-the-basket dunk. "His shooting eye has improved, his timing is better, and his floor play savvy has shown up as well," marveled one reporter after the season opener, a steamrolling of Chico State. Russell scored thirty-nine points, a school record. When the Dons next beat Loyola 54-45, the opposing coach guessed that Russell blocked twenty shots.<sup>15</sup>

Despite these gains, most sportswriters and fans had no expectations of the University of San Francisco, and they knew nothing about Bill Russell. Although fan interest in the Bay Area was growing and the CBA had signed its first local television contract, West Coast basketball suffered from a marginal national profile. Dismissing the Pacific Coast, the region's main conference, *Sports Illustrated* predicted only UCLA in the Top Ten and listed only Ken Sears of Santa Clara and Bob McKeen of California among seventeen Players to Watch.<sup>16</sup>

Even the Dons could not imagine national glory. Before the third game of the season at UCLA, Jones recalled, "We went in there expecting to be beaten by twenty or twenty-five." The Bruins had crushed Santa Clara—favored for the CBA title—by forty points. But the Dons provided more of a challenge. Russell looked impressive throughout the tight defensive struggle. UCLA coach John Wooden said that Russell played better defense than any center he had ever seen. When UCLA defeated USF by only seven points, 47-40, the Dons knew they could compete against any team in the country.<sup>17</sup>

The team now possessed the chemistry it had lacked the previous year, thanks especially to an implicit ethic of racial cooperation. Two days before the opening home weekend against Oregon State and UCLA, a white guard named Bill Bush made an announcement in the locker room. "I'm first string," he said. "But I believe if you put Hal Perry in my spot we will be a better team." A 5-foot 7-inch buzzsaw, Perry was a quick dribbler and fine shooter with an expansive, engaging personality. In high school, his white peers had elected him president of both the senior class and the entire student body. He had starred in track, football, baseball, and basketball. He also studied philosophy, drilled himself on new vocabulary, quoted Shakespeare and the

Bible, and played six instruments. Like Russell and Jones, he lent the Dons an element of black achievement and leadership.<sup>18</sup>

Bush's selfless suggestion fostered a new team harmony. USF was now a faster, more aggressive team. Jones and Perry pressured their opposing guards from at least half-court, and Russell loomed behind them to block and rebound shots. Russell keyed fast breaks with smart outlet passes, and in the half-court the team ran Woolpert's pattern offense. Jerry Mullen supplied extra scoring punch. After crushing Oregon State, USF avenged its loss to UCLA, triumphing 56-44. The Bruins did not score a field goal for the first ten minutes of the game. Russell sped around and leaped over Willie Naulls for twenty-eight points.<sup>19</sup>

The insertion of Perry into the starting lineup along with Russell and Jones had political as well as athletic consequences. By the 1950s, African Americans were placing their cultural stamp on basketball. Over 60 percent of black people lived in cities, and basketball fit the space and temperament of urban life. Especially on outdoor courts, the sport adopted a more experimental flair, with audacious jump shots and flamboyant dribble drives. "It was a learning process on the playground, picking up different things you didn't learn being coached in the YMCA," recalled Pop Gates, a black professional of the 1940s. These players delivered a distinctive black aesthetic, one based in improvisation, spectacular athleticism, and individual élan.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, although San Francisco possessed a reputation for racial tolerance, Russell, Jones, and Perry represented a black invasion onto historically white territory. No major college program in the country started three blacks—and few had anything more than token integration. When a fourth African American, Warren Baxter, came off the bench, the on-court majority violated many whites' sense of propriety. According to



Perry, the local Catholic high schools had already objected that Woolpert gave scholarships to blacks instead of their students. For all the racial enlightenment of a Jesuit school in San Francisco, black players endured more barriers and higher expectations.<sup>21</sup>

When the team started winning games with black players, it exposed the public's racist resentment. Woolpert received hate mail. Though some players do not recall hearing racist jibes, backup center Tom Nelson remembers virulent race-baiting from fans throughout northern California, even at Santa Clara, another Jesuit school just forty-five miles away. Nelson also faced teasing in his home town of San Mateo from high school friends who considered the team's racial mixing abominable. Even some USF students delivered nasty cracks. Alumni publicly complained. "They are scarcely representative of the school," said one. Sticking to his liberal principles, Woolpert played the best team regardless of skin color. Anyone who voiced such bigotry, he suggested, "is not representative of this school either."<sup>22</sup>

A trip to the Oklahoma City All-College Tourney cemented the Dons' racial significance and athletic excellence. Upon arrival, the team learned that the downtown hotels excluded blacks. At a players-only meeting, Perry suggested that they stay together in university dormitories vacated during the Christmas break. His white teammate Rudy Zannini seconded the idea. In their own way, the Dons let race unite rather than divide them. During practice, local fans threw coins at them, as if they were a circus act. Russell erected a defense of dignity and humor. He scooped up the coins. "Coach," he asked Woolpert, "can you hold these for me?" USF then destroyed Wichita State, Oklahoma City, and George Washington. Seeded eighth out of eight teams, the Dons won the tournament, and Russell was voted MVP.<sup>23</sup>

Though now ranked fifth in the country, this emerging powerhouse team operated on a shoe-



*K. C. Jones (left) earned universal admiration for his quiet charisma, resolute leadership, and basketball savvy, while Hal Perry (right) lent a model of achievement and confidence to the team. Few college teams in the mid-1950s carried more than one or two black players. With Jones, Russell, and Perry as starters in the line-up, USF accelerated the integration of college basketball.*

COURTESY, UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO ARCHIVE ROOM

string budget. With no on-campus gymnasium, the Dons practiced at St. Ignatius or the San Francisco Boys Club. Kezar Pavilion—a smallish, squalid structure with seats obscured by rusting steel beams—hosted most home games. The players sometimes took private cars to nearby games and scrimped however possible on longer trips. According to legend, the manager once hid in the bathroom while the train conductor collected tickets.<sup>24</sup>

By early January 1955, USF's winning streak had reached ten games, including wins against San Diego State, St. Mary's, San Jose State, Santa Clara, and the College of the Pacific. The Dons won games even when shooting poorly, because their defense never slumped. After a late January twin bill against Stanford and California, they ranked second in the country. The Stanford game drew 13,824 customers to the Cow Palace, the largest audience in the history of West Coast college basketball.<sup>25</sup>

"Just How Good Is Bill Russell?" asked one headline. Radio broadcaster Cat Wooden earlier had opined that "USF is simply a one-man team and that man—Bill Russell—is not tremendous." But Russell had since prompted comparisons to the West Coast's two All-American big men, Bob



*Leaping to grab rebounds and block shots, Russell contradicted conventional basketball wisdom. An "aerial with arms," he heralded the sport's stylistic revolution.*

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McKeen and Ken Sears. He lacked their shooting, dribbling, and passing skills, and he looked nothing like a conventional pivotman. He ran hunched over, and his body remained pathetically skinny—all arms and legs, elbows and knees. Yet no one had a bigger impact on his team or, ultimately, the sport.<sup>26</sup>

"Don't leave your feet should your opponent set himself for an outside shot," declared one contemporary basketball manual. "Your opponent may fake the shot and drive in for a basket. Furthermore, a guard who has leaped into the air will be in no position to turn to help on the

defensive rebounding if the drive-in shot has been missed." But Russell jumped, reached, and swatted away shots. He turned the blocked shot into a primary weapon, succeeding through relentless athleticism. In the Stanford game, for example, Russell leaped at a Russ Lawler fake. Lawler drove left in three long strides, stopped, and hooked. In that time Russell had landed, sprinted back, and sprung so high that his chin reached rim height. The shot came right back at Lawler's face. Though still relatively unknown throughout the nation, Russell was earning a reputation among West Coast coaches as the greatest defensive player in basketball.<sup>27</sup>

USF swept through its conference schedule and finished the regular season 23-1. The Dons allowed only 52.1 points a game, the fewest in the country, and ranked first in the country. Averaging 21.4 points and 20.5 rebounds a game, Russell made first-team All-America for both the United Press and Associated Press squads. No other West Coast player made either team, except Ken Sears, who made third team for the United Press. Yet local writers named Sears, Player of the Year for both the CBA and all of northern California.<sup>28</sup>

Russell burned with hurt. He blamed Woolpert. Santa Clara coach Bob Feerick had lobbied for Sears, while Woolpert had withheld public praise. He knew Russell's ego, clashed with him over playing style and practice habits, and feared elevating an individual at the team's expense. Russell saw a racial double standard. He already resented that Woolpert had appointed Jerry Mullen to captain when the players would have voted for K. C. Jones. Now he threatened to skip an awards banquet for Sears. "Bill, that'll demean you as a man," warned Woolpert. "That's beneath you." In the end, Russell swallowed his bile and gave Sears a laudatory speech.<sup>29</sup>

Russell's reaction revealed the developing complexities of his politics. His warm, gracious



speech for Sears suggests how he understood himself as a public representative of his team, school, and African Americans as a whole. He nevertheless chafed at Woolpert, the most openly liberal coach in major college basketball. While Woolpert recruited and played African Americans despite alumni pressure, racist taunts, and hate mail, Russell saw racism beyond crude epithets and "White Only" signs. Out of some combination of sensitivity and intelligence, his bitterness festered not just when bigots launched pennies at him, not just at the cries of "nigger" or "baboon," but when race clouded the eyes of even well-meaning whites.

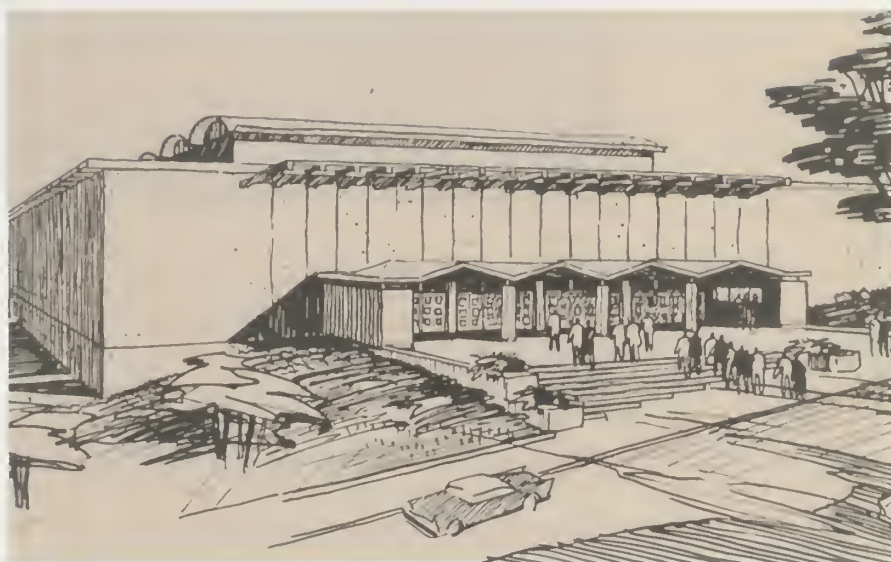
## AN UNLIKELY CENTERPIECE

The Dons entered the NCAA tournament as the top-ranked team in the country, but throughout their title run they overcame internal hardships and external doubts. USF first hosted Border Conference champions West Texas State, which employed intimidation tactics. With the score 2-2, a West Texas defender undercut a leaping Russell, who spun in mid-air and landed on his back with his leg folded under him. The crowd hushed for an uncertain moment. Russell picked himself up, gently. Later, with the score 8-8, another defender crashed into the airborne center. This time the referee assessed a technical foul, the crowd booed, and USF got angry. Russell notched ten straight first-half field goals and the Dons won 89-66.<sup>30</sup>

In Corvallis, Oregon, for the Western Regional, the Dons played fourth-ranked Utah. They led 41-20 at halftime, but in the locker room, Russell started hacking coughs and spitting up blood. A local doctor determined that he could not play. Five minutes into the second half, Utah had cut the lead to eight points. Russell insisted that he felt fine and pleaded to return to the game. Still, Woolpert refused to endanger his health. Then a USF alumnus stormed over to the bench,

demanding that Russell get a second opinion from a San Francisco doctor he had found in the stands. The new doctor cleared him to play. Now Jones and Perry could press the Utah guards, knowing their defensive lynchpin stood behind them. The Dons won 78-59.<sup>31</sup>

USF next faced Oregon State on its home court. Russell and the Beavers' 7-foot 3-inch Swede Halbrook dueled magnificently in a dramatic, wire-to-wire game. Oregon State played almost perfectly, biting at USF's heels the whole game. Down 56-49 with one minute left, they narrowed the score to 57-55. Then, while running to the sideline, Jones accidentally barreled into Oregon State's Jim O'Toole. The referee awarded a technical. With seconds left, the lead shrunk to one point, and Oregon State had the ball. Jones redeemed himself twice, first by tying up Halbrook in a scramble for a rebound and then by



*Following the Dons' title in 1955, a fundraising drive for a new campus gymnasium produced architectural drawings but was insufficient to begin construction. The Dons continued to play home games at nearby Kezar Pavilion in Golden Gate Park or the gym at neighboring St. Ignatius High School.*

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McKeen and Ken Sears. He lacked their shooting, dribbling, and passing skills, and he looked nothing like a conventional pivotman. He ran hunched over, and his body remained pathetically skinny—all arms and legs, elbows and knees. Yet no one had a bigger impact on his team or, ultimately, the sport.<sup>26</sup>

"Don't leave your feet should your opponent set himself for an outside shot," declared one contemporary basketball manual. "Your opponent may fake the shot and drive in for a basket. Furthermore, a guard who has leaped into the air will be in no position to turn to help on the

defensive rebounding if the drive-in shot has been missed." But Russell jumped, reached, and swatted away shots. He turned the blocked shot into a primary weapon, succeeding through relentless athleticism. In the Stanford game, for example, Russell leaped at a Russ Lawler fake. Lawler drove left in three long strides, stopped, and hooked. In that time Russell had landed, sprinted back, and sprung so high that his chin reached rim height. The shot came right back at Lawler's face. Though still relatively unknown throughout the nation, Russell was earning a reputation among West Coast coaches as the greatest defensive player in basketball.<sup>27</sup>

USF swept through its conference schedule and finished the regular season 23-1. The Dons allowed only 52.1 points a game, the fewest in the country, and ranked first in the country. Averaging 21.4 points and 20.5 rebounds a game, Russell made first-team All-America for both the United Press and Associated Press squads. No other West Coast player made either team, except Ken Sears, who made third team for the United Press. Yet local writers named Sears Player of the Year for both the CBA and all of northern California.<sup>28</sup>

Russell burned with hurt. He blamed Woolpert. Santa Clara coach Bob Feerick had lobbied for Sears, while Woolpert had withheld public praise. He knew Russell's ego, clashed with him over playing style and practice habits, and feared elevating an individual at the team's expense. Russell saw a racial double standard. He already resented that Woolpert had appointed Jerry Mullen to captain when the players would have voted for K. C. Jones. Now he threatened to skip an awards banquet for Sears. "Bill, that'll demean you as a man," warned Woolpert. "That's beneath you." In the end, Russell swallowed his bile and gave Sears a laudatory speech.<sup>29</sup>

Russell's reaction revealed the developing complexities of his politics. His warm, gracious



speech for Sears suggests how he understood himself as a public representative of his team, school, and African Americans as a whole. He nevertheless chafed at Woolpert, the most openly liberal coach in major college basketball. While Woolpert recruited and played African Americans despite alumni pressure, racist taunts, and hate mail, Russell saw racism beyond crude epithets and "White Only" signs. Out of some combination of sensitivity and intelligence, his bitterness festered not just when bigots launched pennies at him, not just at the cries of "nigger" or "baboon," but when race clouded the eyes of even well-meaning whites.

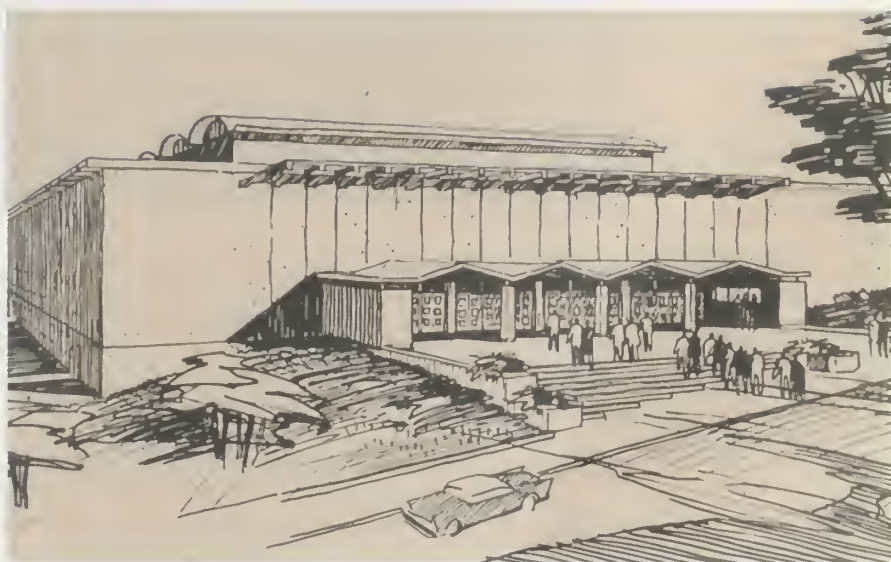
## AN UNLIKELY CENTERPIECE

The Dons entered the NCAA tournament as the top-ranked team in the country, but throughout their title run they overcame internal hardships and external doubts. USF first hosted Border Conference champions West Texas State, which employed intimidation tactics. With the score 2-2, a West Texas defender undercut a leaping Russell, who spun in mid-air and landed on his back with his leg folded under him. The crowd hushed for an uncertain moment. Russell picked himself up, gently. Later, with the score 8-8, another defender crashed into the airborne center. This time the referee assessed a technical foul, the crowd booed, and USF got angry. Russell notched ten straight first-half field goals and the Dons won 89-66.<sup>30</sup>

In Corvallis, Oregon, for the Western Regional, the Dons played fourth-ranked Utah. They led 41-20 at halftime, but in the locker room, Russell started hacking coughs and spitting up blood. A local doctor determined that he could not play. Five minutes into the second half, Utah had cut the lead to eight points. Russell insisted that he felt fine and pleaded to return to the game. Still, Woolpert refused to endanger his health. Then a USF alumnus stormed over to the bench,

demanding that Russell get a second opinion from a San Francisco doctor he had found in the stands. The new doctor cleared him to play. Now Jones and Perry could press the Utah guards, knowing their defensive lynchpin stood behind them. The Dons won 78-59.<sup>31</sup>

USF next faced Oregon State on its home court. Russell and the Beavers' 7-foot 3-inch Swede Halbrook dueled magnificently in a dramatic, wire-to-wire game. Oregon State played almost perfectly, biting at USF's heels the whole game. Down 56-49 with one minute left, they narrowed the score to 57-55. Then, while running to the sideline, Jones accidentally barreled into Oregon State's Jim O'Toole. The referee awarded a technical. With seconds left, the lead shrunk to one point, and Oregon State had the ball. Jones redeemed himself twice, first by tying up Halbrook in a scramble for a rebound and then by



*Following the Dons' title in 1955, a fundraising drive for a new campus gymnasium produced architectural drawings but was insufficient to begin construction. The Dons continued to play home games at nearby Kezar Pavilion in Golden Gate Park or the gym at neighboring St. Ignatius High School.*

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*Hundreds of fans greeted the Dons after USF won the first of two championships in 1955. A pep band belted out the USF fight song as a middle-aged woman banged a drum with her purse. Russell, wearing a bowler hat and a huge grin, holds the game ball high in his left hand.*

COURTESY, UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO ARCHIVE ROOM

somehow guiding the ensuing jump ball toward Perry, who dove under a scrum as the final whistle sounded. The Dons won 57-56.<sup>32</sup>

The season climaxed with the NCAA Finals in Kansas City. In the semifinal, USF played Colorado, the rugged champions of the Big Seven. "Shake Russell and Roll!" chanted the Colorado fans, but it was Russell who shook Colorado and

the Dons who rolled. Center Burdette Halderson, overwhelmed by Russell, fouled out with the score 30-21. USF never looked back. When Jones whipped a no-look pass to Russell, who stepped under the hoop and thundered down a two-fisted reverse slam dunk, the crowd at Municipal Auditorium roared. "Did you ever see that before?" asked a midwesterner on press row. "No," answered an awed East Coast reporter. The Dons won 62-50.<sup>33</sup>



The victory set up a dream final against defending champion LaSalle, led by Tom Gola. To the sporting cognoscenti, Gola embodied basketball perfection. The white, 6-foot 7-inch forward could pass, dribble, shoot, defend, and rebound with equal aplomb. He had won MVP in both the NIT and NCAA tournaments. Granted freshman eligibility by the NCAA, he made All-America for four straight years. He also listened to his coach, loved his mother, and acted nice to schoolchildren. Because Gola played in basketball-mad Philadelphia, near the nation's media center, reporters fawned over him with dreamy reverence. Now the papers trumpeted "A Gola-Russell Duel."<sup>34</sup>

Coach Woolpert had planned to assign Russell to guard Gola, but he decided in favor of Jones, freeing Russell to rebound and block shots. Though Jones gave up six inches, he hounded Gola, shadowing him chest-to-chest, nose-to-nose, up and down the court, jabbing and poking the ball. The LaSalle star never established a rhythm, finishing with sixteen points. Jones notched twenty-four points and Russell added twenty-three, mostly on perfectly timed aerial twists to guide in errant shots. The capacity crowd of 10,500 grew more amazed with each display of Russell's agility. The Dons coasted to a 77-63 win. When the buzzer sounded, Russell's teammates and fans swamped him, lifted him to their shoulders, and carried him off like a victorious gladiator.<sup>35</sup>

"I've never seen anything like this team," said longtime Pittsburgh coach Doc Carlson. "They make you grope for words." Coaches across the country echoed him. USF won the national championship, finished the season 28-1, and owned a twenty-six-game winning streak. An enthusiastic throng of fans greeted the team's plane in San Francisco, and they rode a triumphant ticker tape from campus to City Hall.<sup>36</sup>

Russell had set a five-game tourney mark with 118 points, won the tournament MVP award, and

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captured the Helms Athletic Foundation award for the nation's best player. "Russell does things on offense that could revolutionize the game," marveled Columbia coach Lou Rossini. "A lot of us coaches came away with a new concept of basketball and with mental notes on how to coach our own big men to play as nearly like Russell as they can." USF's success had stemmed not only from Russell's springy legs and elongated arms, but also from his flights of intellect: his analytical approach to the game, his passionate discourses with K. C. Jones, and his creative imaginings of his own possibilities. By weaving his individual virtuosity into the fabric of team excellence, he had become the unlikely centerpiece to the greatest team in college basketball.<sup>37</sup>



*In July 1955 Russell (back row) represented college basketball at a White House luncheon featuring a galaxy of sports stars, including Willie Mays, Gene Tunney, Hank Greenberg, and Bob Cousy. The gathering was the initiation of President Dwight Eisenhower's efforts to promote physical fitness in young Americans. "You all look bigger on television," said Eisenhower, "all but Mr. Russell."*

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE PHOTO; COURTESY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER LIBRARY

## THE NEW BASKETBALL GOSPEL

The 1955 national championship may have surprised the team, but the Dons expected a successful title defense in 1956. Preseason polls ranked USF first in the country. The school scheduled high-profile tournaments in Chicago and New York. Although forwards Jerry Mullen and Stan Buchanan had graduated, Woolpert upgraded the position with Carl Boldt and Mike Farmer. The CBA awarded Jones an extra year of eligibility after his one-game season in 1953–54, so he and Perry constituted one of the best backcourts in the country. Russell, of course, headed the list of preseason All-Americans.<sup>38</sup>

Nothing about three opening games at Kezar Pavilion dispelled the early expectations. Decked in modish new warm-ups with gold capes, USF stretched its winning streak to twenty-nine games by dismantling Chico State, USC, and San Francisco State. Russell averaged nearly a point per minute played, as Woolpert pulled him out halfway through each rout. The center further delighted the hometown fans with effortless swats. "It was like a big boy playing keep-away with small boys," marveled *Sports Illustrated* after the USC game.<sup>39</sup>



Now the team began a long cross-country tour, starting in Chicago for the DePaul Invitational Tournament. The Dons beat Marquette, setting up a final with the host team. Over 11,000 DePaul fans left disappointed—or maybe awestruck—as USF crushed DePaul, 82-59. The Dons had even more speed, shooting ability, and depth than last year's team. "They could name the score against any college team in the country," said one coach. Russell led the way, blocking about fifteen shots and winning the tournament MVP.<sup>40</sup>

DePaul coach Ray Meyer compared Russell to his former player George Mikan. The tall, begoggled star of the Minneapolis Lakers had established the prevailing definition of the pivotman, relying on low-post bulk and close-range touch. Meyer conceded that Russell's defense allowed USF to pester every ball handler and challenge every shot. But Meyer remained wedded to the conventional perception of the center position, embodied by his former meal ticket. "I think Mikan was easier to hit on the post," he said. "He backed his defensive man under the basket and always had such good position." To traditionalists like Meyer, Russell remained an anomaly, not the herald of a stylistic transformation.<sup>41</sup>

The Dons' next spread their basketball gospel in Wichita, Kansas. As USF won 75-65, 10,500 Wichita fans booed Russell and Perry when they shot free throws. The crowd's reaction had a racist tinge. After the game, Wichita coach Ralph Miller apologized to Woolpert for the fans' behavior. Thanks to the 1955 championship, the Dons' national reputation was growing, and their black stars promoted the team's positive association with racial integration.<sup>42</sup>

USF now had five black players. To Russell, Jones, Perry, and Baxter, the team added Eugene Brown, a 6-foot 3-inch sophomore with superb all-around skills. As a freshman Brown had excelled at forward, but now he substituted in at guard. Many teammates believed that he

deserved to start at forward. But if Brown took a forward slot, the Dons would start four African Americans. So Brown backed up Jones and Perry, even during away games. Looking back, some USF players believed that for all the school's racial pioneering, starting Brown as forward pushed the taboo too far.<sup>43</sup>

The Dons nevertheless upset the racial patterns of college sport, especially as their road trip continued south into Louisiana for a December 23 game against Loyola University of New Orleans. After the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the Deep South's resistance to integration had hardened. College sports proved a popular battlefield. The upcoming Sugar Bowl in New Orleans slated all-white Georgia Tech against the University of Pittsburgh and its black backup fullback. "The South stands at Armageddon," thundered Georgia governor Marvin Griffin. "There is no more difference in compromising the integrity of race on the playing field than doing so in the classroom." Soon after, the Georgia Board of Regents restricted state schools from future bowl games against integrated competition, and Louisiana outlawed interracial athletics.<sup>44</sup>

At the time, however, Loyola's teams competed against black athletes, and the field house had integrated seating. A Jesuit institution like USF, Loyola was trying to promote racial tolerance. USF scheduled the game not only to aid its fellow institution, but to further progress. "I guess it was something of a small crusade on our part," said Woolpert. Unfortunately, as USF was beating Wichita, Loyola was hosting Bradley University. When Bradley's black forward Shellie McMillon fouled out, the Loyola band played "Dixie" and fans shouted "Bye Bye Blackbird!" One report claimed that McMillon responded by sticking out his tongue. Others remember that he stuck out his middle finger. Clearly, a game in the Deep South subjected black athletes to enormous pressures, and any misstep might deliver bad publicity.<sup>45</sup>



*The Dons' aggressive racial integration drove a winning streak, but it also exposed the team to segregated facilities and racist harassment, especially on road trips to the South. Russell became one of a small group of professional athletes who publicly denounced racism, speaking out against the NBA's unwritten quota system for black players, participating in the 1963 March on Washington, providing integrated basketball clinics to Jackson, Mississippi, youths, and working for equality in education for black youths in Boston.*

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USF's black players now faced that challenge. "We got off the plane and saw the restroom signs for 'white' and 'colored,'" recalled Jones. "That shook some of the guys up." Unlike the previous year in Oklahoma, they were given no option to stay together. While the white players and coaches stayed at the downtown Jung Hotel, the black players lodged at Xavier University, a historically black private college. Everyone seemed edgy, especially Russell. He hated any acquiescence to segregation, but the team had arrived in Louisiana to foster racial goodwill. When a local black restaurant owner threw a banquet, each player gave a short speech. As his teammates

spoke, Russell furiously scribbled notes. He stood up last. Stone-faced, he surveyed his teammates, the locals, and the media. The room got quiet. "Ladies and gentlemen," he began, "the greatest place to be from in America is New Orleans." He delivered a deft, warmhearted speech, neutralizing the tension in the name of racial harmony.<sup>46</sup>

During the game itself, the spirit of liberal tolerance clashed with the context of racial bigotry. Loyola and USF officials expressed confidence that no controversies would mar the game, and the black players drew polite ovations during pre-game introductions. At the tip-off, however, the referee boorishly mimicked a black dialect, right in front of Russell. During the game, fans taunted the black players. Again, Russell calmed the bubbling pot. After grabbing a rebound as two Loyola players crashed to the floor, Russell dropped the ball and lent his white opponents a hand. The crowd cheered. During USF's 61-43 win, Woolpert played Russell, Jones, Perry, Baxter, and Brown together. He rarely played even four blacks together, but now the all-black team took a poke at Jim Crow.<sup>47</sup>

Upon solidifying their credentials as emblems of racial integration, the Dons next buttressed their athletic reputation. The previous season, they had emerged from anonymity by winning the NCAA title. Now their winning streak reached thirty-three games. Yet they never played east of the Mississippi River, and the NCAA tournament was not televised until 1963. So cynics remained, especially New York fans, who had seen all the greats but never this skinny, black center that must have caught Tom Gola on an off night. Although USF had its pick of post-Christmas tournaments, the Dons chose the sport's biggest stage: Madison Square Garden.<sup>48</sup>

The Holiday Festival Tournament featured a host of college stars, but none generated more anticipation than Russell. When Russell stepped on the Garden floor against LaSalle, the crowd howled.



He could not dribble or pass like Gola. His loping style looked lazy. And he missed his first three shots, all from close range. The fans jeered him, teased him, and waved handkerchiefs when he took foul shots. But soon, observed Roy Terrell of *Sports Illustrated*, "The looks of doubt and derision changed into looks of incredulity and awe." True, he lacked a jump shot. True, he looked awkward. But who else could leave his man on the weak side perimeter, take two long strides, extend an antenna-like arm, and block a driving lay-up on the other side of the court? He also tallied twenty-six points and twenty-two rebounds, and USF won the game 79-62. "All the words they had read," Terrell wrote, "had not really prepared the crowd for Bill Russell."<sup>49</sup>

Russell still seemed an oddity to basketball purists. The media described his rail-thin frame, simian arms, and "turkey neck." Russell chafed at this sardonic tenor. "Don't you think I read the papers?" he said. "It's like knives. It hurts." He considered the disrespect racist. He drew extra motivation for the semi-final against Holy Cross, hyped in all the New York papers as a showdown between Russell and Tom Heinsohn, a white, 6-foot 7-inch, slick-shooting, media-celebrated bulldog. Heinsohn managed twelve points in an excellent first half, but Russell shut him down after halftime, finishing with twenty-four points and twenty-two rebounds in a 67-51 rout. The post-game assessment focused on Russell's superiority. Even Heinsohn agreed. "I didn't get my thirty, did I?" he growled to reporters in the locker room.<sup>50</sup>

The final against UCLA proved more a coronation than a contest, though it illustrated the shifts in college basketball embodied by Russell. Both teams hailed from the West Coast, and both featured African American stars. Russell's defense soared above the offensive talents of Willie Naulls. When Naulls faked, drove past Russell, and rose for a powerful two-hand dunk, Russell reached over the cylinder and blocked the ball,

even though it never left Naulls's hands. UCLA coach John Wooden cried goaltending, but the amazing block "surprised everyone so much that no one knew what to call." That play sparked a 70-53 USF win. Russell left the game to a huge ovation. In three games he had accumulated sixty-seven points and sixty-two rebounds. He won the MVP award, his fifth consecutive tournament honor.<sup>51</sup>

Joe Lapchick, a thirty-five-year veteran of competitive basketball, called USF "the best college basketball team I have ever seen." Some teams had better shooters, but none played defense like the Dons. "That's because no team ever had a player like Bill Russell," he explained. USF had won seven games in sixteen days on the road, stretching their winning streak to thirty-six games. As the calendar turned to 1956, Russell and the Dons returned to California. They faced not only their conference schedule, but also the burden of basketball history.<sup>52</sup>

## THE STREAK

From 1935 to 1937 Long Island University set an NCAA record with thirty-nine consecutive wins. Seton Hall tied the mark from 1939 to 1941. After opening its CBA schedule with easy wins over Pepperdine, Santa Clara, and Fresno State, USF shared the record. But winning delivered new tensions.<sup>53</sup>

"I never, ever experienced pressure like I did during the streak," Russell later reflected. He was attracting national attention: photo essays in *Life*, *Look*, and *Ebony*, profiles in *Time*, the *New York Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. The black press breathlessly followed his exploits, and he became a Bay Area celebrity. Carl Boldt joked that if the team plane crashed, the headlines would read "Bill Russell Killed" and the back pages would list his teammates as "also dead." Russell resented it. "Lay off, Carl," he snapped. "Just remember, with me under the basket, your shots

can be guided out as well as in." Woolpert had to call a team meeting to clear the air.<sup>54</sup>

More often, however, the constant winning smoothed over personality conflicts and ego trips. The team also created friendships across the racial divide. For instance, one night Jones took Mike Preaseau to a black nightclub. With the racial proportions reversed, Preaseau glimpsed the difficulties of life as an African American on the USF campus. In general, the players traded jokes, played poker, and shrugged off the pressures of the streak. Living by the cliché of "one game at a time," they often seemed preternaturally loose. "Luckily," Russell said, "we had players who were kinda hep."<sup>55</sup>

Despite his nip at Boldt, Russell set his team's character. "I was in awe of the guy," recalled Preaseau. "He knew who he was." Hal Perry recalled how Russell would insist on one-on-one games to test himself against a quick dribbler. Tom Nelson marveled at his sharp mind and verbal facility. Mike Farmer remembered him as intellectually curious and opinionated, but always deriving his conclusions after research and careful thought. He believed that the team players adopted Russell's personality: analyzing the game's larger patterns, studying their opponents, and taking confidence in their own abilities. "Don't ever do what you *can't* do," Russell said. "Just do what you *can* do—and do it well."<sup>56</sup>

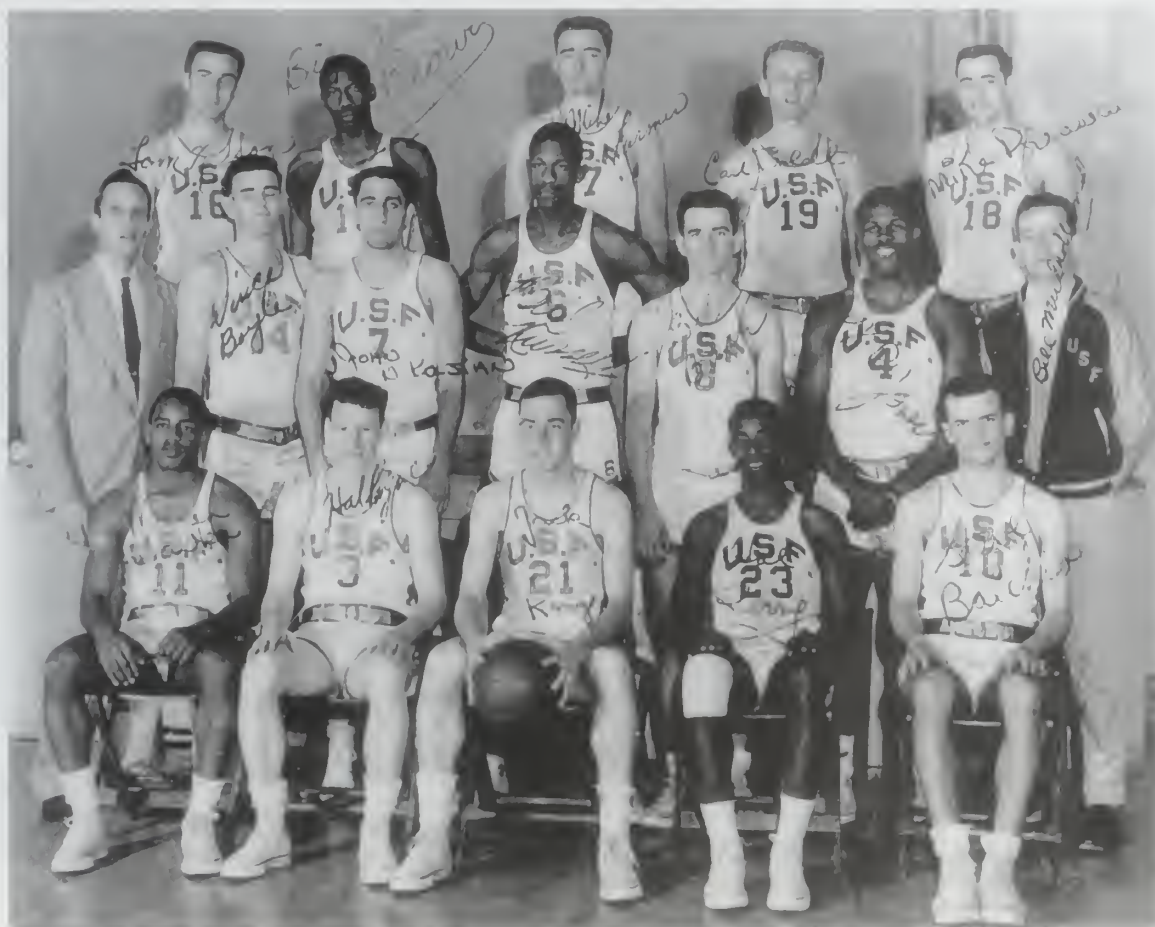
Russell also created a public persona quite at odds with the scowling, militant posture that he later adopted. Phil Woolpert celebrated Russell as a "good citizen" who absorbed strong values from his father. His teammates found him affable and outgoing, "one of the boys." In front of crowds, he shone with charisma, making people laugh and feel at ease. As the streak wore on, national magazines published his self-effacing, team-oriented quotes. Basketball fans of every size and stripe shook his hand, got his autograph, and engaged in a smiling conversation.<sup>57</sup>

The local media painted Russell as proud, "with a deep sense of personal dignity," but also happy and humble. "I'm not as good on defense as people think," he said. "In fact, I am the worst defensive man on the team." This "aw-shucks" attitude conformed to what white America expected of its black athletes, but it also reflected Russell's personification of black achievement. In the aftermath of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, these individual glories suggested new possibilities for African Americans. The *Chicago Defender* and *Pittsburgh Courier* glowed with news of Russell's accomplishments. His team succeeded through interracial cooperation. More than any other figure in college basketball, Russell embodied a liberal optimism about American race relations.<sup>58</sup>

But anger simmered beneath, a low boil. Russell had suffered racist indignities and arrogant dismissals. When celebrated by *Time* and *Sports Illustrated*, he was described stereotypically as "a happy-go-lucky Oakland Negro" and "something of a clown." For all his achievements, race shackled his possibilities. That frustration, that rage, that pessimism helped drive his greatness. "I decided in college to win," he later said. "Then it's a historical fact, and nobody can take it away from me."<sup>59</sup>

On January 28, 1956, Russell and the Dons vied for an NCAA record forty straight wins. The game against the University of California, sold out since mid-December, riveted the region. Scalpers fetched \$25 for \$1.50 tickets. USF set the record, but only after the ugliest, weirdest game of their streak. The Dons shot 21 percent, and Cal 22 percent. In the second half, though his team trailed 26-21, Cal coach Pete Newell ordered substitute Joe Hagler to hold the ball on the perimeter. For over eight minutes, Hagler froze the game, looking forlorn while enduring the crowd's hoots. Jones and Boldt held quiet conversations with their Cal counterparts. Some players sat on the floor. Hal Perry shadowboxed





1956 NCAA Champions. Few college teams in the mid-1950s carried more than one or two black players. During the 1955–56 season, USF played five African Americans, becoming the first integrated team on the collegiate level to win a national championship with a majority of black starters. Front row, left to right: Warren Baxter, Hal Payne, Jack King, Hal Perry, Steve Balchios; middle row: Coach Phil Woolpert, Vince Boyle, John Koljian, Bill Russell, Bill Bush, K. C. Jones, Bill Mulholland (manager); back row: Tom Nelson, Gene Brown, Mike Farmer, Carl Boldt, Mike Preaseau. Not pictured: Assistant Coach Ross Giudice.

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a little, trying to stay loose. Finally, with six minutes left, Cal tried a shot. It missed. USF won the grim, slogging affair 33-24.<sup>60</sup>

The Dons now tore through their conference schedule. No games were even close, thanks in part to their burgeoning reputation. “We were a great team,” Russell recalled, “but once we got this terrible ‘unbeatable’ monster idea loose, all we had to do a lot of times was show up at the gym and we had the game won.” The starters subbed out early in most games, since Woolpert refused to run up the score. USF became the region’s darlings. The Cow Palace set an attendance record of 14,297 for a January 31 disman-

tling of San Jose State, and it topped the record with 15,732 customers for a March 6 win over St. Mary’s.<sup>61</sup>

As the streak stretched on, basketball historians unearthed new challenges. Seton Hall and Long Island University each had won four games against alumni teams and junior colleges during their strings, so some claimed that the record was forty-three wins. USF bested that mark against Fresno State on February 10. Next someone discovered that Kansas State Teachers College of Pittsburg won forty-seven straight games from 1929 to 1932. USF surpassed that record on February 28 against the College of the Pacific.



*After two consecutive NCAA titles and a record-breaking winning streak, USF was the greatest team in the history of college basketball, and Russell was its unlikely centerpiece. Russell's dominance, in particular, inspired new NCAA regulations, which became known as Russell Rules.*

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Then it surfaced that Peru State Teachers College in Peru, Nebraska, won fifty-five consecutive games from 1922 to 1926. To match that unofficial mark, the Dons would have to win another NCAA championship.<sup>62</sup>

USF entered the tournament with impeccable credentials. Deemed a first team All-American by every major media outlet, Russell had averaged 20.5 points and twenty-one rebounds a game. K. C. Jones also won All-America honors, and Woolpert repeated as United Press Coach of the Year. The team had twenty-five wins and no losses. Some were already calling the Dons the best team in the history of college basketball.<sup>63</sup>

But a specter hung over the Dons all season: they would defend their NCAA championship without K. C. Jones. Although the California Basketball Association had granted Jones an extra year of

eligibility after his appendix burst, the NCAA declared him ineligible for its postseason tournament. Jones's reputation had soared during the streak. The floor general and defensive sparkplug earned further respect for his quiet determination, level head, and friendly demeanor. "No man will miss K. C. during the tournament as much as I will," said Russell. They had formed a powerful partnership based on their cerebral approaches and complementary playing styles. Now, in this final act, Russell stood alone at center stage.<sup>64</sup>

## RUSSELL RULES

As the Dons rode an overnight train to Corvallis to begin their NCAA title defense, doubts centered on the absence of K. C. Jones. But the players cited the talent of his replacement Eugene



Brown, adding that the sophomore only needed confidence. Reporters asked how he felt about filling Jones's shoes. "Scared," Brown replied.<sup>65</sup>

USF opened against UCLA, the last team to beat the Dons. Led by Willie Naulls, the Bruins averaged eighty-three points a game. "UCLA can whip San Francisco without Jones on the floor," decreed Washington coach Tippy Dye. He was wrong. For the third time since that December 1954 loss, USF stifled UCLA. The Dons got a twenty-point lead and coasted to a 72-61 win.<sup>66</sup>

USF next faced Utah, another fast-breaking team. This game provided a sterner test, as Russell accumulated three fouls in the first half. Without Jones and fearful of fouling out, Russell "walked on eggs the rest of the way," allowing the Utes to maintain a breakneck pace. More than any previous game, the Dons relied on offensive firepower. They finally won 93-77, the most points they had scored and allowed all season. Russell netted fifty points in two games, winning the Regional's MVP award. Eugene Brown joined him on the All-Tourney team.<sup>67</sup>

Heading to the NCAA Finals in Evanston, Illinois, Woolpert's anxieties bubbled. He had not scouted Southern Methodist University, which boasted a nineteen-game winning streak and sweet-shooting center Jim Krebs. Russell had sprained a finger, and Brown suffered from an upset stomach and painful foot blisters. But after twelve minutes, USF led by twenty points and Woolpert substituted freely throughout the 86-68 victory. "San Francisco can beat any basketball team I know of," said SMU coach Doc Hayes. "San Francisco can beat the Russians."<sup>68</sup>

The next morning, before their final showdown against Iowa, Russell slept until eleven o'clock. He picked up a good-luck telegram from his girlfriend. Then he and his teammates lounged around the hotel, joking and laughing. On the ride to McGaw Memorial Hall they belted out

songs to a rock and roll beat, changing the lyrics to tease their trainer. Even in the locker room, they jabbered and giggled until game time. A relaxed attitude had served them well throughout the streak, but as game time approached, Woolpert's stomach tied into ever-tighter knots.<sup>69</sup>

Those fears seemed realized in the opening minutes, when Iowa grabbed a 15-4 lead. The Hawkeyes scored on fast breaks and back-door cuts while their lone black player, a versatile forward named Carl "Sugar" Cain, amassed ten quick points on fake-right, go-left dribble drives. USF clearly missed K. C. Jones. "Nervous? No, I wasn't nervous," Russell recalled. "I was just flat scared."<sup>70</sup>

Yet one final time, Russell and the Dons submitted a bravura performance. Eugene Brown shifted to forward and shut down Carl Cain. The Dons forced turnovers throughout the second half, holding Iowa to 33 percent shooting for the game. Russell blocked a shot, blocked another, and then scared a Hawkeye into a wild miss. Russell finished with twenty-six points and twenty-seven rebounds. He scored three baskets with his trademark "steer" shot, reaching above the hoop and guiding in errant shots. When the final buzzer sounded on the 83-71 victory, USF owned a fifty-five-game winning streak and two consecutive NCAA titles. "This must be the finest undergraduate team since Naismith first hung the peach basket," marveled the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Even Woolpert agreed. "The difference—without a doubt—was Russell."<sup>71</sup>

The previous year, the NCAA Rules Committee had met in Kansas City during the tournament. It had widened the lane from six to twelve feet, with the hope of freeing congestion under the basket. This year, panicked coaches again worried about a generation of Bill Russells driving the little man out of basketball. They banned "offensive goaltending," a direct result of Russell's steer shot. The best basketball teams had long

*The team had led  
a revolution in  
college basketball's  
style and meaning.  
It had showed the  
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depended on cuts, screens, and ball movement. USF instead had relied on speed and quickness, height and agility, defense and rebounds. Russell's game augured the sport's future. Because the Rules Committee drafted these laws during USF's two titles, the changes earned a nickname: Russell Rules.<sup>72</sup>

Russell observed the new rules with bemusement, since his college career ended with the second national championship. But a disappointment festered: after winning MVP in six consecutive tournaments, he lost the NCAA tournament's honor to Hal Lear of Temple, a 5-foot 10-inch guard who had scored forty-eight points in the consolation game. After two national titles, two awards for national player of the year from the Helms Athletic Foundation, and buckets of praise from sportswriters, Russell remained excruciatingly sensitive to perceived disrespect.<sup>73</sup>

#### THE HOUSE THAT RUSSELL BUILT

Russell left USF in May 1956, one semester short of graduation. The next summer, after winning the gold medal at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics and the first of eleven NBA championships in 1957 with the Boston Celtics, he returned to campus. But he resented that the school charged him tuition, and he left without completing his degree. He has since maintained his distance from his alma mater. He avoided the university's 150-year anniversary celebration and the fifty-year anniversary celebration of his team's historic accomplishments.<sup>74</sup>

In the mid-1950s, Russell exhibited the cheerful, humble, optimistic tone of many black athletes. By the mid-1960s he foreshadowed the "revolt of the black athlete," when various activists challenged the notion that sport fostered racial equality. Though his bitterness surfaced later, the double standards, the racist taunts, and the ostensible lack of recognition of his USF years laid the foundation for his future politics.<sup>75</sup>

But Russell's anger belonged to the future. The present deserved celebration. Possessors of a fifty-five-game winning streak and two national titles, the Dons were the greatest team in the history of college basketball, the fulcrum upon which college basketball pivoted. As they delivered to West Coast basketball a new legitimacy, they made the sport faster, more vertical, more athletic, more dynamic, more black. No African Americans made the *Look* All-America team until 1952, and by 1958 four of the five all-stars were black. While traditionalists derided a fast, free-form, jump-shooting, dunking, undisciplined game as "playground" or "Negro" basketball, USF's exceptional pressing defense allowed it to inject that offensive style into basketball's older patterns. The team had led a revolution in college basketball's style and meaning. It had showed the sport the benefits of racial integration. Not unlike Joe Louis or Jackie Robinson before them,



the Dons had fostered a liberal, democratic spirit among those they had touched.<sup>76</sup>

The Dons' second championship was capped with another triumphant parade through San Francisco, the motorcade rolling from campus to City Hall, led by fire trucks with sirens wailing. Afterward, a reception at City Hall raised money for a gymnasium on the USF campus. During the 1955 title run, a fifty-eight-person committee had initiated an eighteen-day fundraising drive. The campaign had rallied the community, revealing the civic benefits of athletic success, but it raised only half the required amount. The committee filed an extension, and as the Dons

rewrote the record book, the donations streamed in. After another championship, the committee raised over \$700,000. Thanks to the extraordinary winning streak, in December 1956 USF broke ground on an 8,000-seat arena it named the War Memorial Gymnasium.<sup>77</sup>

It could have been called The House That Russell Built.

ARAM GOUDSOUZIAN is an assistant professor of history at the University of Memphis. He has a B.A. from Colby College and a Ph.D. from Purdue University. The author of *Sidney Poitier: Man, Actor, Icon* (2004) and *The Hurricane of 1938* (2004), he has written book chapters and journal articles on the politics of American sport and film. He is currently writing a biography of Bill Russell.



*In the aftermath of the Dons' back-to-back national championships, USF's fundraising efforts for a campus gymnasium were reignited, and in 1958 the War Memorial Gymnasium—honoring fallen students, alumni, and faculty—opened its doors. Although he would not play there, Russell returned to campus in December 1956 for the groundbreaking ceremony; he is honored in the court-level Bill Russell Room, featuring the retired jerseys of USF's former basketball stars.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY PHILIP ADAM

# IN A CLIMATE LIKE OURS



## THE CALIFORNIA CAMPUSES OF ALLISON & ALLISON



BY SALLY SIMS STOKES

On the first of September 1909, James Edward Allison set out from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on his second reconnaissance trip to California. He had scouted the Golden State in 1903 but had returned home without committing to a move. This time, the thirty-nine-year-old Allison and his brother, David Clark Allison, were primed for bright new vistas. Within the year, they had established the offices of Allison & Allison in Los Angeles and by 1915 had achieved standing as pre-eminent school architects in California.<sup>1</sup>

The Allison brothers belonged to a generation of architects described by historian Richard Guy Wilson as the “romantic imagists,” those who “saw the spirit of the time as residing in historical styles and forms as the language of architecture. At times they disobeyed certain rules or made new combinations of forms and ornament, yet their work was understandable to the public.” The work of Los Angeles architects H. C. Chambers, Myron Hunt, Gordon Kaufmann, and Robert H. Orr, and the partnerships of John C. Austin and Frederick M. Ashley, Sumner Hunt and Silas Burns, John and Donald Parkinson, and Albert R. Walker and Percy Eisen, held true, in varying degrees, to Wilson’s model. These designers intended neither to condescend, nor to cave in, to popular taste. Rather, they sought to create buildings that were imbued with an unpretentious, self-possessed integrity. In their time, they succeeded in this effort. The methods of the *École des Beaux-Arts*, calling for balance and formality

and grounded in the appreciation of classical antiquity, allied with the notion of California-as-southern-Europe, prevailed in their work well into the 1920s, perpetuating what William Alexander McClung has called “Anglo mythologies” of the appropriateness of Mediterranean-inspired building forms to the southern California landscape. J. E. Allison, by now a true-blue member of the inner circle of architects in Los Angeles, explicitly called forth these tenets in a 1915 essay in the New York-distributed *Modern School Houses*: “It is natural that we of California,” the transplanted Pennsylvanian asserted breathlessly, “should turn for our inspiration to the Architecture of Southern countries of similar climate and modes of life, and the Spanish, Mexican, and Italian prototypes seem peculiarly adaptable here, and they will no doubt most strongly flavor the permanent California Architecture of the future, though it is to be hoped that that Architecture will convey the impression of being essentially



Southern [Californian] and American, rather than as being essentially Spanish or Mexican or Italian.”<sup>2</sup>

The millennium has brought a new curiosity about the architects who shaped southern California’s built environment in the first half of the twentieth century. In 2001, the exhibition “Defining a Californian Style: The Architecture of Allison & Allison,” funded by the California Council for the Humanities, confirmed the Allisons and their work as fitting subjects for study. As a 1926 *California Graphic* author wrote about the Allisons, referring to the “substance, beauty, and power” of Los Angeles building projects: “There is of course something more than a passing interest in the men whose creative work and genius is responsible for these outstanding marks of community progress.”<sup>3</sup>

A blend of current educational concepts, historical legitimacy, and intermittent touches of mirth: such was the countenance of an Allison & Allison design. Exceedingly prolific, the Allison practice specialized in, but was never limited to, school and collegiate projects. “A significant percentage of three generations of Southern Californians,” observed Kevin Starr, “have attended . . . school, college or university in Allison & Allison buildings, . . . or worshipped in Allison & Allison creations, . . . read in Allison & Allison libraries, . . . posted their letters at Allison & Allison post offices, sending their utility bills to the [Allison-designed] Southern California Edison Building . . . worked in Allison & Allison factories and warehouses, banked in Allison & Allison banks; were admitted to Allison & Allison hospitals, and, finally, were laid to rest at Allison & Allison creations such as . . . the Mausoleum and Chapels of Forest Lawn. . . . They did all this, moreover, in buildings which each bore the Allison & Allison imprint of solidity, scholarly reference, and appropriately assertive public presence.”<sup>4</sup>



*Tower Hall (1931–32), designed by Allison & Allison and Harry L. Pierce for Chaffey High School’s junior college program, graces Ontario’s Euclid Avenue, a tree-lined thoroughfare extending to the San Bernardino Mountains. Leaders in California’s “romantic imagist” architecture circles after 1910, the Allisons produced close to 200 school and campus buildings by 1940.*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES



*The Allison's repertoire extended beyond campus design. Austin Whittlesey of Allison & Allison designed this thirteen-story Art Deco-style office building in the Bunker Hill area of downtown Los Angeles as headquarters of the Southern California Edison Company. Allison & Allison established offices there as well. A testament to modernity when it was completed in 1931, the Edison building was engineered to withstand seismic stress and was heated and cooled by electricity. Lobby murals by Hugo Ballin, Barse Miller, and Conrad Buff, and exterior bas-relief panels by Merrell Gage, contribute to the building's themes of electrical energy, light, and power.*

SECURITY PACIFIC COLLECTION, LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY

The story of Allison & Allison lies in school district records, in church council minutes, in public library ephemera collections, in university and federal agency archives, and in mementos passed along to Allison family members. Respected by peers and extolled by clients, the Allison's also faced allegations of unethical behavior, saw first-hand the impact of the 1933 Long Beach earthquake on their purportedly seismic-resistant structures, experienced the wholesale redesign of one of their award-winning campuses, and recast their trademark romantic imagist idiom in the face of 1930s modernism. Their careers, seen

through the lens of their work as school specialists between 1910 and 1940, tell of the lure of California; of the interpretation of the landscape by architects from the East; of politics, professional jealousies, artistic trends, and engineering advances; and of the Southland's shifting tectonic plates.

## THE PROMISED LAND FOR THE NEW CENTURY

*My friends, it is almost as cheap to build a beautiful schoolhouse as an ugly one — if we know how. . . . Our California landscapes must become famous for their tasteful and harmonious schools, everywhere, and not outraged by dreary stables for schoolhouses, slovenly barnyards for school grounds. . . . We must not allow our little girls to absorb slatternly lessons at the school. We must not allow broken windows and unkempt surroundings at the school to infect our little boys and make them grow up shiftless, ne'er-do-wells.*

Edward Hyatt, Superintendent of Public Instruction, California, in *School Architecture and School Improvement from the Twenty-third Biennial Report* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1909)

As J. E. Allison was making his way West, state school officials in Sacramento were framing their creed for the coming era in school building design. State Superintendent Edward Hyatt's exhortations permit a glimpse of the way education leaders contributed to the definition of California as the Promised Land for the new century. Hyatt warned of the grim consequences of committing schoolchildren to run-down buildings and derelict playgrounds. Tastefulness and harmony, he insisted, must surround the pupils of California's public schools.

Hyatt's precepts provided Allison & Allison the perfect philosophical base on which to assemble a reputation for designing first-rate school buildings in the Southland. Five years after the



publication of his 1909 handbook, Hyatt issued a second booklet intended “to build up in the minds of the people a distinct ideal of what modern schoolhouses ought to be.” For his 1914 publication, the school chief appointed a panel of architects to select California school buildings that would illustrate this ideal. The architects’ checklist included siting, interior plan, proper ventilation, and washroom facilities (matters of hygiene representing advanced thinking for the times). The jury considered four hundred schools and campuses and indicated that the winning designs expressed strength of character, orderliness, and a sense of lofty principles. Presenting the jury’s findings, San Francisco architect Charles H. “Harry” Cheney insisted that “[school buildings] should advance the highest and noblest ideas possible,” and demanded, “Should they not help to attract the incoming population which most of this State is so anxious to have?” The Allison, who had surprisingly limited experience as school designers in Pennsylvania, must have attended well to Hyatt’s sermonizing and Cheney’s stipulations: of the twelve schools presented in the jury’s final report, five were by Allison & Allison. The Allison firm had been in practice in Los Angeles for four years.<sup>5</sup>

Hyatt’s tracts were in the vortex of a national trend. Throughout the Allison’s California career, a profusion of articles on school design swirled through the professional literature across the United States. America’s leading school architects and educators addressed issues of fire safety, cleanliness, lighting, and the relation of buildings to curricula. With ardor, J. E. Allison joined the discourse on the popular subject of *al fresco* rooms. “The proper appreciation of, and a demand for the open air class room, study hall and auditorium is fast growing in California,” J. E. declared. “[And] why,” he exclaimed, with the unabashed boosterism of an adopted son of the Southland, “should not most of this work and study be done in the open air in a climate like ours!”<sup>6</sup>

During the three decades of the Allison practice in Los Angeles, architects and school administrators would actively integrate open-air study and performance spaces, as well as enclosed science labs and specialized buildings for mechanical training, carpentry, and homemaking skills, into the overall learning environment. The progressive theories of education taking root in California with the proliferation of kindergartens, junior high schools, and polytechnic instruction, coupled with the growth of new towns—particularly on the outskirts of Los Angeles—helped bring about fresh concepts in school planning. Developing communities such as Monrovia and Santa Monica in the second decade of the twentieth century required buildings for an expanding school-age population. In the 1920s, plans for the residential enclave of Palos Verdes Estates would incorporate two elementary school sites. Within ten years, in a depressed economy and in response to the menace of seismic disasters, laborers, contractors, and architects would be engaged through federal relief programs to build a stronger, safer, more practical educational setting for the Southland.

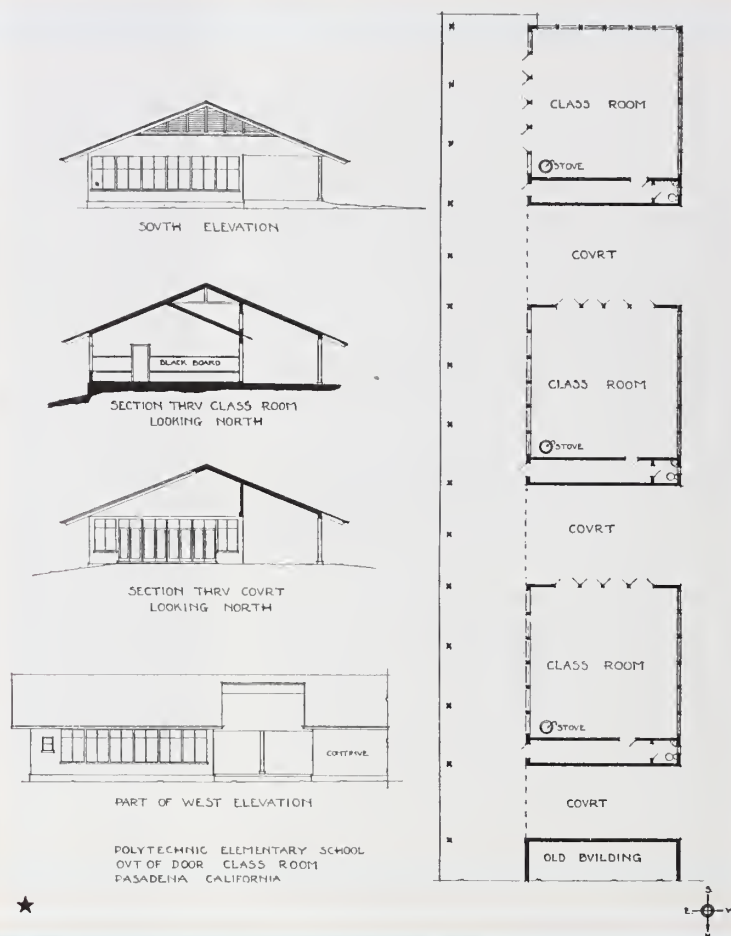
For now, at the turn of the twentieth century, Californians saw exhilaration unfolding everywhere. By 1900 the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe Railroads had perfected an advertising crusade that portrayed California as a tantalizing destination for tourists, families, and business prospectors, and the Allison qualified in all categories. The California Building at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago had wooed fair-goers with the enormity of the Golden State’s agricultural riches and is often credited with launching the mission revival craze, which held strong in California until about 1905. Back from his first jaunt to the Southland, J. E. traveled with his wife, Stella Clark Allison, to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904. The mere sight of that fair’s California Building—a replica of Old Mission Santa Barbara—likely

CONTINUED ON P. 34



"See this happy little San Diego County school studying under the pepper trees, where the fierce light is tempered by the shade," wrote State School Superintendent Edward Hyatt about these fresh-air scholars in 1914. Desks fixed in tracks promoted concentration when such a tempting tree called out to be climbed. Even if children could not take their seats each day in a grove or arbor, California architects found many ways to bring light and air into the classroom.

COURTESY, UCLA LIBRARY, DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS



Los Angeles architects Myron Hunt and Elmer Grey designed Pasadena's Polytechnic School, founded in 1907. Grey's concept for an open-air classroom addition to the main building provided the following for every room: access to either a courtyard or an open cloister; exposure to light and air from the east, south, and west; and a stove to offset winter's chill. Romantic zephyrs filtered through the corridors: Architect Hunt, a widower, married Poly's principal, Virginia Pease, in 1915.

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES

## Open-Air Classrooms: Recovery, Revolt, Rapport

"More strongly every year is California school architecture marked by adaptations of the outdoor idea. . . . If it is better for the health and growth of the children and costs less money to build, why in the name of Heaven should it NOT become the dominant feature of our architecture? Answer that if you can!"

Edward Hyatt, *School Architecture in California* (Sacramento: State of California, [Office of the] Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1914)





*Architect William Templeton Johnson and his wife, Clara Sturges Johnson, impressed with the progressive methods of the Francis W. Parker School in Chicago, instituted a new Parker School in San Diego in 1912. Folding wood screens could be stacked in the open position, bringing light and ventilation directly from the courtyard. Optional, enhanced exposure was achieved through comparable access to the outdoors from the adjoining room.*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES

Early in the twentieth century, educators and medical professionals in Germany, England, and the United States began to embrace the concept of exposing anemic and tubercular children to fresh air in and out of the classroom as a cure for their conditions. German advocates called this type of environment the "open-air recovery school," and in promotional photographs the robust and smiling pupils were the movement's very own "open-air crusaders."<sup>1</sup>

Open-air instruction and recreation might take place in a tent, a woodsy camp setting, or a school building adapted to the purpose. Brisk temperatures were seen as a prescription for recovery from disease, but in very cold weather, when seated at their desks, children kept warm in hooded woolen overcoats and blanket bags, hot soapstones at their feet. Some classrooms had heating stoves or steam radiators.<sup>2</sup>

By 1918, there were approximately 1,000 open-air and open-window classrooms in schools in 130 American cities. Engineers and hygiene specialists largely agreed that fresh air benefited every child, sick or well; yet there was no denying that designers of these open-air spaces needed to address the problems of dust, misty rain, and wind, as well as the "dead corners" of a building in which air did not circulate.<sup>3</sup>



Oakland architect John J. Donovan's elementary school at Stanford University in Palo Alto highlighted his own 1912 invention: a window that he claimed "would make every classroom an open air room at will." The Donovan windows (left) moved on a system of rollers and metal arms and were equipped with adjustable, flap-resistant shades. Modifying the angle of the sash could help steady the breezes that wafted between the windows and the open wall opposite.

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES

In California, open-air schools and classrooms for all children became a staple of educational building theory and practice by 1915. Open-air spaces designed by William Templeton Johnson, Myron Hunt and Elmer Grey, and John Donovan stood out alongside those of Allison & Allison. These architects' contributions to the advancement of open-air education included fully retractable walls, allowing direct

access to a courtyard; Donovan's own patented sash shade windows; and truly outdoor spaces such as roofed "picnic shelter" classrooms and roofless amphitheatres.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the most penetrating assessment of open-air facilities in California came in 1917. In a pair of essays in the *Architectural Forum*, San Francisco architect and Berkeley professor William C. Hays drew key distinctions between the open-air classroom "crusade" and

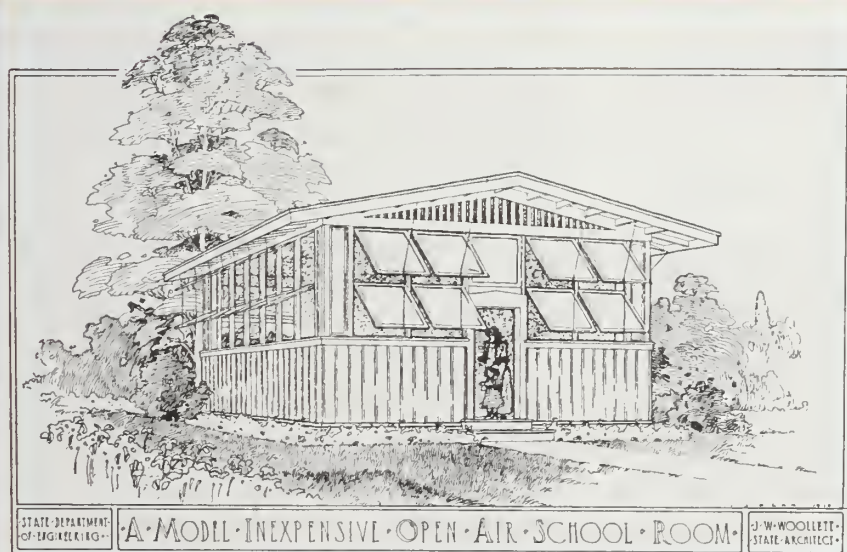
what he termed the "logical revolt" in California, "on the part of thinking men and women, against the restraining 'schoolroom' itself." Californians, Hays suggested, sought "a perfect rapport between the child and his physical and intellectual environment," a situation in which, through open-air education, the health and development of schoolchildren could be entwined with a "spiritual something, evasive and precious."<sup>5</sup>





*The no-nonsense atmosphere of this outdoor study hall at the Allison & Allison-designed Santa Monica High School is reinforced by the tight rows of desks and the pupils' erect posture. The desktops were proportioned and slanted specifically to reduce strain on the back and eyes and positioned to provide light over a student's left shoulder. In addition to his windows, John Donovan patented at least three varieties of such "strain preventive" desks and seats prior to 1921.*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES



*This simple, economical 1912 prototype of a one-room building for Fresno by State Architect John Woollett appeared throughout School Superintendent Hyatt's 1913 brochure on open-air schools. Noting such attributes as the canvas panels in lieu of glass windows, Hyatt called Woollett's "California Schoolhouse for \$500" "tasteful and beautiful" and "much more wholesome in every way for the children than the proudest structure in the state."*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES



*A film shoot in progress on an outdoor performance stage at Vitagraph Studios (ca. 1917). Hollywood's rise from the early days of the rugged movie lot to its status as the capital of the motion picture industry by the 1930s a few decades later was part of the lure of southern California and a factor in its growth. By 1920, Los Angeles had become the 'most populous city in the state and tenth in the nation. As California's population increased, so did the need, expressed by School Superintendent Hyatt, for "tasteful and harmonious" school buildings for its youth.*

TICOR/PIERCE COLLECTION, CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, USC SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

bolstered Allison's resolve eventually to give up smoky Pittsburgh for the eternal sunshine of the Pacific coast.<sup>7</sup>

Key legislative decisions paved the way for the Allison's to become school specialists in California. In 1902, the city of Los Angeles, after years of negotiation, purchased the system that furnished water to a population of 128,000. In 1905 and 1907, voters passed bond issues that led to the diversion of water from central California, and thereby to the development of new suburban communities—and schools—where water supplies previously had not existed. The year of J. E. Allison's first excursion to the Southland,

1903, witnessed the passage of critical legislation in Sacramento. As part of a package of bills regulating child labor, state lawmakers ratified an act requiring children between the ages of eight and fourteen to attend school for five months of the year. Edward Hyatt's uplift essays were soon to follow. A niche market for school architects was arising.<sup>8</sup>

By the time of J. E.'s second California tour, in 1909, D. W. Griffith's Biograph company had erected temporary studios in the Southland. Within two years, both the film industry and the firm of Allison & Allison had gained a foothold in southern California. Rough board-and-bed-



sheet performance stages would presently give way to the raw glitz of the studio system. Soon enough, according to Kevin Starr, "the architecture of Allison & Allison . . . [would serve to] restrain the . . . stage-set nature of Southern California architecture which could, and so often did, edge into the merely flamboyant or superficial." The Allison's work indeed was never flashy, but it was often blithe and amiable. The brothers would, now and then, inject a buoyant element into their repertoire by stepping lightly into the realm, in Robert Winter's words, of "historic architectural styles as . . . escapades."<sup>9</sup>

The fabulously successful promotion of California to the midwestern and eastern middle class, the availability of water for irrigation and household use, compulsory school attendance, the tinsel-mystique of a nascent Hollywood: combined, these factors set the scene for the advent of the Allison office. For an architectural practice poised to enter the Los Angeles scene in 1910 with a newfound specialty in school design, the key was to salute the excitement, greet the opportunity, and provide California's burgeoning communities with well-mannered and equable academic facilities. These things the Allison's did with dash and verve.

## PENNSYLVANIA BEGINNINGS

James Edward Allison, born in Hookstown, Beaver County, in western Pennsylvania, opened an office in Pittsburgh on April 1, 1892. The date

was six weeks after his twenty-second birthday and coincided with the publication of the third issue of a new journal, the *Architectural Record*, which featured an article by Dankmar Adler on the Chicago Auditorium, the colossal Romanesque hotel, office building, and opera house designed by Adler with Louis Sullivan. The journal's premier issue in October 1891 had carried critic Montgomery Schuyler's exhaustive discussion of the Romanesque revival in American architecture. Schuyler's piece was illustrated with the work of several architects, including George Foster Shepley, Charles Hercules Rutan, and Charles Allerton Coolidge, successors to the revival's master, Henry Hobson Richardson.<sup>10</sup>

After completing studies at the Oakdale Academy in Pennsylvania and an apprenticeship with an Oakdale contracting firm, J. E. Allison held several draftsman posts, spending one year in Chicago with Adler & Sullivan and another with the Pittsburgh branch of Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge. The Shepley office was established to supervise the completion of the Allegheny County Courthouse and Jail after Richardson's death in 1886. Positions with Adler or Shepley were plums to be coveted by novice draftsmen, and Allison's association with these two firms afforded him a ready-made architectural lineage of talent and renown.<sup>11</sup>

The rugged stone masonry and massive broad arches of the Richardsonian Romanesque were the last word in American building in the cities of the East and Midwest, even as Louis Sullivan had begun to develop his own then-radical design

For an architectural practice poised to enter the Los Angeles scene in 1910 with a newfound specialty in school design, the key was to salute the excitement, greet the opportunity, and provide California's burgeoning communities with well-mannered and equable academic facilities. These things the Allison's did with dash and verve.



*James Edward Allison (1870–1955) trained as an apprentice draftsman in the traditional manner of the day. Prior to forming a partnership with his brother David in 1905, he practiced alone and with Pittsburgh architect O. M. Topp, designing buildings from Pennsylvania to Oklahoma. Practical and businesslike on the job, he was “very fond of spinning yarns” and enjoyed hunting and fishing. Shown here in later years, J.E. Allison was a sandy redhead in his younger days.*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES

theories and, arguably, to inspire Frank Lloyd Wright toward a departure from historical forms. Allison and Wright overlapped at Adler & Sullivan, and Allison probably worked under Wright, who was chief draftsman in the firm and only three years Allison's senior. But unlike Wright, J. E. Allison was no iconoclast. He adhered conservatively to a version of the Romanesque, modifying its scale to suit the industrial villages and towns in which he would obtain his early commissions. Pittsburgh, and indeed the entire region of southwestern Pennsylvania, had embraced both the Richardsonian Romanesque and the revival of the less-ponderous Lombard Romanesque since the 1880s. California's Anglo mythologies notwithstanding, Italianate architecture was well established in the elder Allison's design lexicon by the time he opened his own practice in Pittsburgh in 1892. For the five years before the brothers departed the headwaters of the Ohio River for the shores of the Pacific, they daily traversed the deep Romanesque entry aisle leading into the lobby of the Westinghouse Building, where they rented studio space after 1905. J. E. Allison employed the Romanesque almost exclusively, favoring a locally abundant material, brick, which had formed the great Italian cathedrals of the Middle Ages and was enjoying its own revival in Romanesque architecture in Italy at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

By his own account, J. E. Allison's initial contract was for the First United Presbyterian Church of

Beaver Falls (1892). The church was a reserved, Victorian adaptation of the Romanesque over a Queen Anne shell. For the heavy masonry and pierced arcades popularized by Richardson, Allison substituted a deep wine brick exterior, set off by stone window arches, and took advantage of the angled bays and cross gables of the Queen Anne style to present a cruciform sanctuary. Romanesque churches dominated J. E. Allison's dossier; the wood-framed United Methodist Church at Noblestown (1896) was the exception. In the Methodist and Presbyterian churches at Vandergrift, a company town planned in the offices of the leading landscape architect of the day, Frederick Law Olmsted, Allison made more generous use of Romanesque motifs while moving away from the weighty solemnity of Richardson. Both Vandergrift churches were of a tawny brick comparable to the shade Allison had chosen in 1894 for his earliest schoolhouse of record, a matter-of-fact representation of the Romanesque on a rural Pennsylvania hilltop in Oakdale.<sup>13</sup>

J. E. Allison also supplied a public school for Vandergrift, listing it in his 1899 application for membership in the American Institute of Architects (AIA); he was active as an officer and committeeman in the Pittsburgh chapter. In the 1890s, he worked primarily in the small towns of his home state, expanding into nearby East Liverpool, Ohio, for a business block, to Morgantown, West Virginia, for a church, and even to “far off Oklahoma” for yet another.<sup>14</sup>



Briefly after 1900, Allison and fellow Pittsburgh architect O. M. Topp conducted business as Allison & Topp. The two parted for reasons that remain obscure, and in 1905 J. E. Allison formed a partnership with David Clark Allison, youngest of his nine brothers and sisters. David, born in 1881, was early inclined toward art as a career. He had wielded his pencils nimbly from childhood and was said to have covered many a school copybook with sketches, to the annoyance of his teachers. It was J. E. who coaxed his brother into architecture, perhaps recognizing that his own strengths were on the business side, that his spectrum of creativity could use more breadth if he wished to capture a strong clientele, and that David's design finesse and urbane wit would be assets should the brothers join forces professionally.<sup>15</sup>

Whereas J. E. had come up through apprenticeship channels, David was a college man, having completed a two-year architecture course at the University of Pennsylvania in 1904. Midway into the younger Allison's program at Penn, the prize-winning French architect Paul Philippe Cret joined the faculty, and Allison became Cret's pupil. "In his teaching at the university," observed architectural historian John Harbeson, Cret "followed the Beaux-Arts system of training by means of a series of competitions in problems of architectural design. The result was that his students showed rapid advancement in proficiency in design and presentation." During 1908 and 1909, David traveled extensively throughout southern Europe, steeping himself in the architectural forms of Lombardy and spending part of a year at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Architecture students at the École worked in studios (*ateliers*) under the guidance of a *patron*, who in Allison's case was Eugène-Joseph-Armand Duquesne. Emphasis was placed on comprehending classical Greek and Roman forms while developing fluency in many historical manners. Planning took precedence over embellishment,



*Architect Myron Hunt admired David Clark Allison (1881–1962) for his ability “to be able to think at once in terms of color, form, and material, and . . . transcribe his dreams to paper.” University-educated, the tall and mahogany red-haired D. C. Allison was remembered by his niece as the “glamour boy” of the pair. Both Allisons, Hunt affirmed, fit his 1915 definition of an architect: “He shall be artist, scholar, gentleman, diplomat, executive man of business, master mechanic; all these, in some degree, the public and his competitors in his profession expect of him.”*

COLLECTION OF ISABELLA ALLISON BRITTON

but ornamentation might derive from a range of periods and styles. One of the few Beaux-Arts-trained architects to practice in Los Angeles, David Allison would establish the Atelier Allison and teach in the University of Southern California's School of Architecture.<sup>16</sup>

The Beaux-Arts method, or “problem” system, called for students to prepare a series of sketches, or *esquisses*, to be critiqued by the *patron*. Louis Sullivan had attended the École, and thus, as a young tyro at Adler & Sullivan, J. E. Allison had been exposed to this procedure. He and David therefore held compatible notions of how a building should evolve on paper. David's erudition, deftness, and cosmopolitan experience, in combination with his elder brother's business sense, knowledge of the building trades, and staunch local reputation, provided, as J. E. Allison might have predicted, the requisite diversification and polish to the Allison practice.<sup>17</sup>

David's classical revival Fourth National Bank in Cadiz, Ohio (1905) was fully representative of his Beaux-Arts proficiency; even more so was the plan for the \$20 million campus of the Western University of Pennsylvania (University of Pittsburgh), which in 1908 earned Allison & Allison third place in a national competition involving sixty-one architects. The Western University design constituted a colossal leap for the Allison brothers into a recognized field of campus planners. The jury's positive response to the Allison brothers' concept suggests that the brothers must have taken pains to study the work of, or to consult with, prominent collegiate architects prior to submitting their drawings. It is likely that David Allison turned for advice to Paul Cret, or at least to Cret's 1908 drawings for the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Allison & Allison's Western University plan was never realized, but the brothers must have parlayed its prize-winning status into a credential when they presented themselves as candidates for new work in California.<sup>18</sup>

Officially and temperamentally, David was the artist in the Allison firm; J. E. was the practical chap. But J. E. was keen for the outdoors, for adventure, and for travel. It was he who had set out alone in 1903 to reconnoiter in Los Angeles. Even before the brothers opened their Pittsburgh office in the Romanesque revival Westinghouse Building, J. E. Allison had formulated plans to establish a practice in the great land of fortune and prosperity, southern California.<sup>19</sup>

## THE CALL OF CALIFORNIA

What drew J. E. Allison to become a California "school man" can be traced in part to what Charles Allerton Coolidge, with Frederick Law Olmsted, had accomplished at Stanford University. The young J. E.'s association in the 1890s with Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge in Pittsburgh, and with Olmsted in nearby Vandergrift, must have heightened his interest in the widely publi-

cized Stanford project, which had been laid out by Coolidge and Olmsted beginning in 1886. A Stanford publication of 1888 asserted that the university's architects intended the campus "to preserve as a local characteristic the style of architecture given California in the churches and the mission buildings of the early missionary fathers." To achieve this form, Coolidge melded the stonework and Romanesque arches representative of Henry Hobson Richardson with long arcades arranged around a plaza—a fusion of popular monumental architecture, Beaux-Arts axial planning, and contemporary perceptions of a simple and holy regional past.<sup>20</sup>

The mission revival figured strongly in the development of California school planning into the twentieth century, especially in the use of arcaded walkways and light-textured exterior finishes. Even after the craze had subsided, school boards and architects alike favored schoolhouses that postured as descendants of the missions. Such buildings were understood to reflect a kind of community fascination with a Hispanic heritage and, partly because they conformed well to one-story and open-air plans, they were also cited as practical, safer in fires and earthquakes, and appropriate to the climate. Elements of the revival had filtered back across the United States, in no small measure because architects from the East, including John Galen Howard, contributed to popular awareness of the missions through their artistic field sketches. After J. E. Allison's first tour to Los Angeles, he and his brother did their part to perpetuate the style in western Pennsylvania.<sup>21</sup>

Under construction in Hollywood during J. E.'s 1903 California expedition was the A. G. Bartlett residence, soon to be touted in the *Los Angeles Examiner* as "the best sample of the pure Spanish mission style of architecture to be found in or near Los Angeles," and as the "finest of all the palatial homes in the Cahuenga valley." J. E. could not have resisted driving out to Hollywood





*Withey & Davis's Santa Paula Grammar School (1910–11) was a descendant of the mission revival architectural style. With its plainspoken, boxy expanses meshed with such mission holdovers as the paired bell towers, it represented the measured reallocation of mission revival themes in school buildings away from the sentimental to the practical. By 1912, the U-shaped plan, with open cloisters enclosing a forecourt on three sides, had become a standard composition for one-story and open-air schools.*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES



*Erected only a few years after the Santa Paula school, Allison & Allison's Glendora Grammar School (1914) also featured cloisters and a courtyard, but the geometric regularity in its balance of arcs and angles shunned the more pliable lines of the mission derivatives. Architect Peter B. Wight admired the building's "simplicity[;] its beauty is found in the good proportions of its parts."*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES



*In 1908 Allison & Allison captured the spirit of A.G. Bartlett's mission revival residence in Hollywood (above) in the more subdued, regularized lines and proportions of Navarre Hall (below), a women's dormitory in a similarly hilly setting at Clarion State Normal School (later Clarion University of Pennsylvania). Navarre (now Becht) Hall is still in use and is listed in the Pennsylvania Register of Historic Places. The Bartlett house no longer stands.*

RESIDENCE OF A.G. BARTLETT, CA. 1905, TICOR/PIERCE COLLECTION, CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, USC SPECIAL COLLECTIONS; NAVARRE HALL, COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES



to have a look at the Bartlett place. He must have sketched it, photographed it, or imprinted it upon his memory, for in 1908 Allison & Allison pivoted the westward migration of popular architectural styles and fetched the essence of the Bartlett estate back to the wooded Allegheny Plateau of northwestern Pennsylvania. The result was Navarre Hall (1908), a “dormitory for young ladies” at the Clarion State Normal School, a teacher-training institution on the edge of a forest ninety miles northeast of Pittsburgh.<sup>22</sup>

Navarre maintained Clarion's pattern of adding individual buildings in the latest fashion, with no discernible campus plan. The dorm's pale brick facing, and even its red tile roof, were common enough in western Pennsylvania, where the manufacture of clay products was a major industry. Exposed brackets and windows consisting of three vertical panes over a full lower sash typified Arts and Crafts details popular in the region. It was the flourish of its gables—and a massing and proportion drawn from the Bartlett House in Hollywood—that tagged Navarre as belonging to the last stages of mission mania. The building's creamy façade and undulating roofline exude irony: few Allison projects in California would allude so candidly to the mission revival. This residence hall remains something of an eccentricity while constituting a defining moment in the Allison's' practice. Navarre was not only a harbinger of the brothers' imminent transfer to the Southland, but a nonchalant “escapade,” the first clear representation from the Allison office of David's sense of fun. Now ivy covered and still in use after nearly a century, it is a playful diversion, a counterpoint to the stolid presence of the



Gothic and Romanesque revival campus buildings that were already in place at Clarion when the Allison's were hired to draft Navarre. Over the coming decades, David Allison's penchant for the humoresque would manifest itself repeatedly in California schools and colleges.<sup>23</sup>

By 1910, architects from the country's eastern half were making their marks in California school and campus architecture: Henry Hornbostel, the winner of the Western University of Pennsylvania competition in 1908, had placed second in the Phoebe Apperson Hearst contest for the Berkeley campus in 1898; John Galen Howard, delineator of the Franciscan missions and Berkeley's supervising architect after 1901, had worked for Richardson and for the Shepley association. Why not throw in one's lot with theirs? In the end, the allure of California's clean canvas was inescapable.<sup>24</sup>

No jottings or journals recount the specifics of the Allison's decision finally to take a chance on a western venture. Stella Clark Allison's death in 1906, after an eight-month illness, did not immediately prompt J. E. to pull up stakes; perhaps he was concerned about separating his five-year-old daughter, Elizabeth, from her Clark and Allison kin. By the spring of 1910, however, he was ready. He rented a house in Hollywood on the second of June and office space in Los Angeles on the tenth. Two months later, on August 14, J. E. recorded in his diary, "Dave arrived in California to stay." The Allison's had signed on to the California dream.<sup>25</sup>

## PROGRESSIVE SCHOOL MEN

*The American Architect* for July 13, 1910, carried a brief notice in the Personal column: "Messrs. Allison & Allison, formerly of the Westinghouse Building, Pittsburgh, announce that they have opened offices in the Exchange Building, Los Angeles, Cal. They desire to receive manufacturers' samples and catalogues." While the Allison's

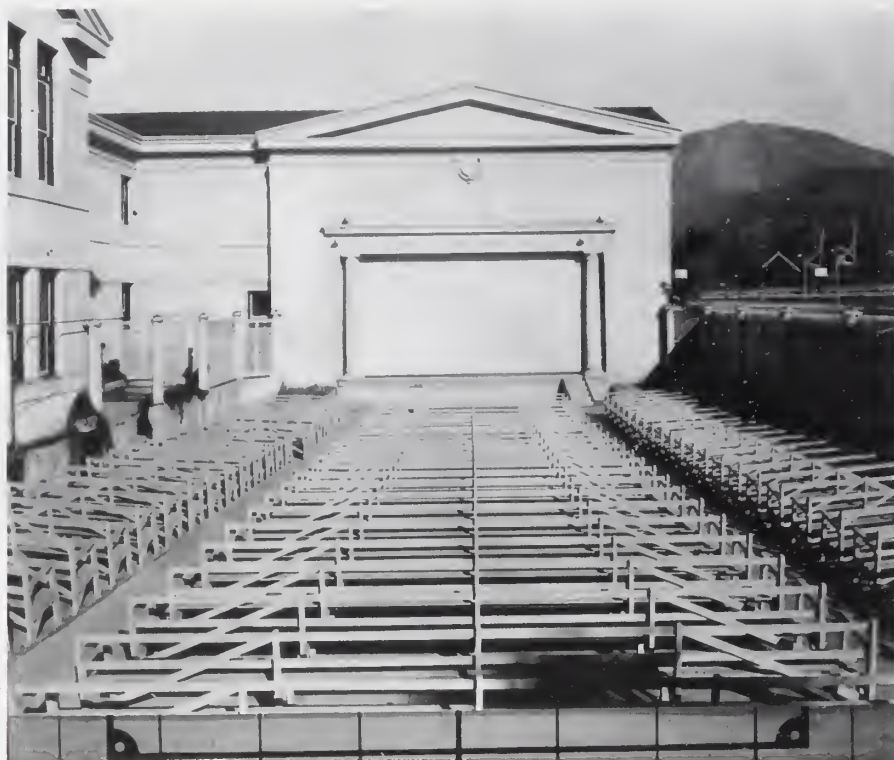
awaited the arrival of leaflets illustrating fixtures, fittings, and ornament, their job book remained decidedly blank. J. E. and David had arrived in Los Angeles with a stack of recommendations, but for nearly four months there was no activity in the Allison studio. If the brothers announced themselves as generalists or as school experts, or hired a drafting staff, or spent the barren weeks of September and October plying a network of bicoastal contacts, they apparently left no record of how they went about setting up shop in the Exchange Building.<sup>26</sup>

Events at last took a promising turn on November 1, 1910, with a contract for a high school group at Monrovia. The Monrovia complex opened just after the New Year in 1912, with a capacity of 375 students. Completion photographs of the street front portrayed the cool gravity of the new white buildings. The rawness of their setting (full landscaping was still to come) rendered the compound somewhat stiff and bare. One needed only to stroll around behind, however, to see that David Allison had tempered the restraint of classical detailing with the informality of a pergola connecting the main building and the manual arts wing. Just beyond was an open-air auditorium, the sparkling facet of the campus design. The auditorium, with the San Gabriel Mountains forming a natural backdrop, caused a considerable sensation, and in no time the Monrovia plan had boosted the Allison's into the vanguard. By 1914, Monrovia High School had received national exposure in *The American Architect* and would be highlighted in the architectural press again in 1915 and 1921.<sup>27</sup>

As suggested in Edward Hyatt's brochures, the light finishes and the columns, pilasters, and pedimented porticoes characteristic of classical revival buildings extended California's high-minded sense of historical continuity back to ancient Greece and Rome, or at least to certain of the early colleges of the eastern seaboard. Classical architecture as a mode for the California

*Allison & Allison's design for the open-air auditorium at Monrovia Polytechnic High School (1912) encouraged the use of outdoor space for the school's theatrical and debating events. Other open-air elements of the high school included a pergola of latticed beams forming a shaded walk between the main building and the manual arts building. In this photograph, the auditorium stage's proscenium arch enclosure is shown in place.*

SECURITY PACIFIC COLLECTION, LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY



campus had gained legitimacy at the turn of the century when the University of California Regents chose it for the Berkeley campus. Critic Herbert Croly, writing in the *Architectural Record* in 1908, deemed the classical an appropriate tradition for academic buildings; to Croly, the mission style was merely sentimental. But Croly quoted John Galen Howard's assessment of the mining building at Berkeley: "The exterior treatment is of extremely simple, dignified character, based upon the classical tradition, but strongly influenced by the naïf and charming work of the Spanish Fathers in California," the connection being, in Howard's view, the effect of tile roofs and unadorned expanses of wall surface.<sup>28</sup>

The classical form for public schools continued in demand among the Allison's clients through the early decades of the twentieth century in La Cañada, Redondo Beach, Santa Paula, and Van Nuys in California, and in Chandler, Arizona. Evidently J. E. Allison found the mode somewhat trite, but James O. Betelle, of the New Jersey firm Guilbert & Betelle, brushed aside Allison's dissatisfaction by requesting permission to illustrate an article with photographs of Van Nuys High School (1914). "There are no [school] buildings

being constructed throughout the country which are finer and better designed than the ones by your firm," wrote Betelle. "I am glad to have this opportunity of saying so."<sup>29</sup>

Through the 1930s, the Allison's perpetuated the use of historical styles and ornament in new school projects. Some of the brothers' most significant results were executed in their favored Pennsylvania medium—brick—in red, rose, or tawny hues. Despite the overwhelming popularity of stucco for California schools, architectural historian Robert Judson Clark has spoken of brick exteriors for school buildings as "the closest thing to a Los Angeles vernacular in the realm of large public structures after World War I." Few other firms besides Allison & Allison promoted brick for southern California schools. It is thus chiefly within the Allison's repertoire that Clark's point must be considered. In the September 1915 issue of *Architect and Engineer of California*, which was devoted to the work of Allison & Allison, Los Angeles architect Myron Hunt credited the brothers with having "loved brick," and having "helped a great deal in the development of its local manufacture," probably for the same reasons given by Chicago architect Normand S.





*During their early years in Los Angeles, the Allison somewhat reluctantly satisfied public demand for school buildings that displayed classical columns and pediments. Van Nuys High School (1914) typified this style. The classical mode was not among the firm's favorites, but it was popular among school boards in the Southland whose members sought a tangible connection between modern California and the intellectual ideals of ancient Greece and Rome.*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES

Patton in a 1914 essay. According to Patton, "Of all new materials, vitrified brick seems the best adapted for general use in school building. . . . [W]e lose sight of the individual bricks and see the wall which rivals stone in durability and massiveness and exceeds it in its capacity for color." The reliability of unreinforced brick wall construction was yet to be called into serious question by seismic shock in the Southland.<sup>30</sup>

At age seventy-five, J. E. Allison recalled that in those early days he was "full of vim and vigour" as the firm took its place in the burgeoning architectural community of Los Angeles. By 1915, characterizing himself and David as "progressive school men," he savored his status as an authority on innovative school planning. Part of the Golden State's fraternity of design professionals, and about to be elected president of the AIA's Southern California Chapter for 1916–17, he could now look back on a five-year record of contributions to campus architecture in the Southland that included the campuses of Santa Monica High School (1912–13) and the Los Angeles State Normal School (1913) and, in northern California, the launch of the Palo Alto Union High School (completed 1918).<sup>31</sup>

#### "FOREVER NOTABLE"

Of the public buildings to which he refers, Robert Judson Clark considers Allison & Allison's high school for Santa Monica the best in terms of "logical planning and balance of parts." David Allison based the buildings on the churches of San Stefano in Bologna by way of the Museum of Science and Art (1899), designed by Cope & Stewardson et al. at Allison's alma mater, the University of Pennsylvania. "Up to date" was a high compliment in the parlance of the time and, although its exterior harked back to the medieval period, the "SaMoHi" complex was up to date in all other respects. Ducts for a central vacuum cleaning system and specially hinged windows that could open out completely were but two of the attributes that drew admiring comments from locals. Like Monrovia High School, SaMoHi followed the "group plan," a concept just beginning to gain acceptance in school planning circles in the first years of the century and to this day virtually unknown in the Northeast.<sup>32</sup>

The group plan, well suited to the expansive five- to twenty-acre lots available in California, drew on principles of college and university campus

organization, designating individual buildings for specific purposes. Such an arrangement gave a firm nod to polytechnic education (mechanic arts shops and their attendant noise and fumes could be separated from the main building); to fresh air and exercise, which students could enjoy between classes; and to the anticipated growth in enrollment and curricula. Buildings could be added as needed, "without the necessity of committing architectural blunders and structural wastefulness." The University of Pennsylvania museum was in many ways an ideal model for the new site. Its low proportions made it innately suitable to expansion. Starting with a modified replica of the central core of the urban Cope & Stewardson composition and spreading newly conceived related parts (the specialized classrooms) over the seaside setting, David Allison derived a group plan that seemed entirely natural. As recently as 1904, the collegiate architect and critic Ralph Adams Cram had declared the museum "era-making" and "as logical and crystalline as great music." How could any school board resist receiving the offspring of such a gem?<sup>33</sup>

The high school's student newspaper staff invited George Schreiber, head of the art department, to comment on the new physical plant for a souvenir New Building issue of *The SaMoHi*. The teacher's essay, buttressing the prescriptives of Edward Hyatt and Charles Cheney, prophesied that the inspirational qualities of the architecture would awaken in the student body a true devotion to learning. Architects such as the Allison family thrived on such morally invigorating prose, which they could present as part of a marketing packet to other school districts. On the editorial page of the same issue, an adolescent pundit responded mischievously to Schreiber's rhetoric: "The magnificence of the building overawes us. Can you walk down the halls without a sense of your own insignificance?" As to the benefits of fresh air to be gained by walking across campus during the change of classes, the same teenaged editor quipped, "Being scattered over so much

ground gives the pupils a chance of remaining unacquainted." And then with a wink: "This should be offset by the assemblies."<sup>34</sup>

In the pages of *Architect and Engineer*, Myron Hunt applauded the silhouette of the SaMoHi plan. "Every possibility of a wonderful and difficult site seems to have been grasped by the designers," he avowed. Hunt found the shades of the brick as depicted in the architects' colored renderings to be more pleasing than those in the high school as built, but concluded that "[the] great tawny group of the Santa Monica high school is certain to remain forever notable." Hunt's predictions to the contrary, within twenty-five years the Santa Monica high school buildings would shed their tapestry brick facing and re-emerge in a 1930s modern form.<sup>35</sup>

If Santa Monica High School confirmed the Allison family's standing in the field of school building design, the firm's plan for the Los Angeles State Normal School on Vermont Avenue moved the brothers into the limelight. J. E.'s direct, enterprising nature and David's now barely remembered renderings for a Los Angeles high school brought about this enviable assignment, one that would carry with it a thirty-five-year stewardship of the Normal School campus and its heirs.

Just ten months after arriving in Los Angeles, J. E. Allison wrote to Normal School President Jesse F. Millspaugh to request the commission for the proposed new teacher-training campus, which would replace the building at Fifth and Grand (site of the present Los Angeles Public Library). The Allison family had not carried out a full-scale collegiate project other than to prepare the competition drawings for the Western University of Pennsylvania, although the Santa Monica High School group did approximate a small college plan. In his letter to Millspaugh, Allison confidently cited the Santa Monica group as well as the firm's work in Monrovia, the dormitory in Clarion, and a sheaf of testimonial letters from past clients.<sup>36</sup>



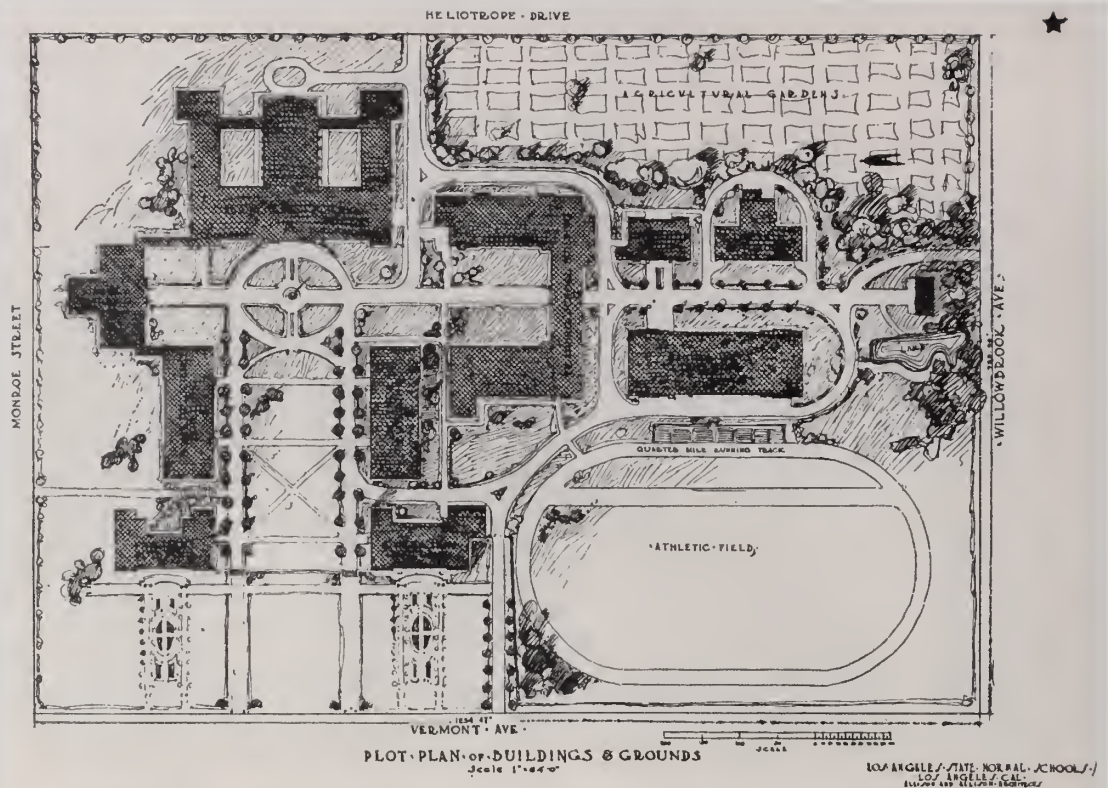


*Two photographs of 1924 depict Allison & Allison's "up to date" Santa Monica High School: an aerial view shows the Greek Theatre and playing fields (left); the main building, located at the top of a hill, was fronted by lawns and palm trees (above). Following the innovative "group plan," the structures and grounds incorporated many of the period's recent developments in school design theory. Formally dedicated in February 1913, by the early 1920s the plantings had begun to mature, and the complex had acquired a sense of permanence.*

SANTA MONICA HIGH SCHOOL, GREEK THEATRE AND PLAYING FIELDS, COURTESY OF THE SANTA MONICA PUBLIC LIBRARY/SECURITY FIRST NATIONAL BANK COLLECTION; EXTERIOR VIEW, SANTA MONICA HIGH SCHOOL, MAIN ENTRANCE AND RIGHT WING, CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, USC SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

During the year in which he waited for word about the Normal School project, Allison returned to Pittsburgh to remarry. He noted in his journal that he and his second wife, Mary E. Holyland Allison, "started house-keeping" on North Margareta Street in Alhambra in September 1911. The following April, an announcement came from Sacramento: "The Engineering Department under State Engineer Wilbur F. McClure is to have no State Architect hereafter. High class architect firms, one for the south-

ern part of the State and one for the North, are to be consulted for each new building as it is required. . . . McClure has appointed the architect firm of Allison and Allison of Los Angeles as consulting architects for the Southern part of the State. . . ." The following week the *Los Angeles Examiner* reported, "It was stated in State Engineer McClure's office that the selection of Allison & Allison was made as a result of the exhibition at the recent Architectural League in Los Angeles of the drawing for the Wilmington High School."<sup>37</sup>



Buildings and grounds of the Los Angeles State Normal School. Twenty-two acres of land. Cost of buildings \$600,000.

*Allison & Allison's California State Normal School, Los Angeles, was the fulfillment of the firm's first collegiate-level undertaking. The teacher training school's newest campus opened in the fall of 1914 on twenty-two acres. The facilities inspired a member of the science faculty to write to the architects offering his "compliments upon a group which leaves nothing to be desired in its perfect combination of the artistic with the useful."*

COURTESY, UCLA LIBRARY, DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

That this modest brick high school group was a catalyst in Allison & Allison's selection as architects for the Los Angeles State Normal School—not to mention as regional consultants to the state engineer—is astonishing in view of the amount of press given the Santa Monica High School and the fact that drawings of the SaMoHi buildings also were displayed at the Architectural League show. Nevertheless, by September 1912, Millspaugh, the Normal School trustees, and the state board of engineering had approved Allison & Allison's plans for the Vermont Avenue campus.<sup>38</sup>

The Los Angeles State Normal School displayed David Allison's Beaux-Arts training to advantage. In Beaux-Arts architectural theory, the balanced arrangement of buildings was superior to any other consideration, including style. Accordingly, the campus was laid out along a central

axis. The fine arts, domestic science, and library buildings faced the gymnasium, science building, and the teacher training school; the administration building, Millspaugh Hall, sat at the head of the group. The plan was filled out to the north by the kindergarten, the cafeteria, and the manual arts building, all oriented to the training school. Above this secondary assemblage were the agricultural gardens; below, the athletic field. The AIA's Southern California Chapter awarded Allison & Allison its Medal of Honor in 1918 in recognition of the Vermont Avenue design. That year, J. E. Allison was advanced to fellowship in the American Institute of Architects.<sup>39</sup>

The silhouette of Millspaugh Hall's flared polygonal dome—another instance of David Allison's debt to the university museum—soon appeared as a campus emblem in the Normal School's



publications. With elfish caprice, David Allison borrowed again from the exterior design motifs of the museum, whose marble medallions, made in 1899 by John Ross, represented the museum's antiquities collections and areas of research. For the Los Angeles Normal School, Allison called for medallions with a droll, cartoonish touch, evoking the styles of popular illustrators Howard Pyle, N. C. Wyeth, and Maxfield Parrish, to be applied to the outside walls of the library, domestic arts, and manual arts buildings. The medallions, affable caricatures of their John Ross counterparts, relate to the activities or departments housed in each of the Vermont Avenue buildings.<sup>40</sup>

## REFORMERS AND DEFENDERS

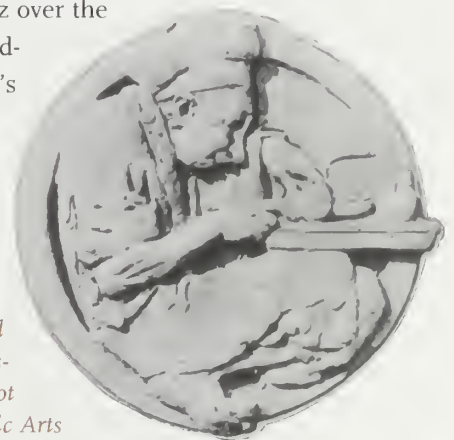
During their first years in Los Angeles, the Allison had swiftly become involved in the architectural life of the city. David Allison's atelier flourished, he was active in the AIA's Southern California Chapter, becoming chapter president in 1925, and by 1912 he had joined two committees of the Los Angeles Architectural Club. J. E. Allison also made his presence known in the architectural community and was especially outspoken on the issue of design competitions for public schools and colleges.<sup>41</sup>

J. E. Allison and fellow AIA chapter member John C. Austin led early endeavors to reform an 1872 California state law that required all public agencies and jurisdictions, including school districts, to choose their architects by means of formal competition and to post bonds guaranteeing that the project's cost would not exceed those stated in the architect's proposal. In 1912, Austin, in an effort at least to standardize the competition process, published a recent discussion of the AIA's new code for architectural competitions. The code called for a professional advisor to establish guidelines for "uniformity of rendering, . . . uniformity of scale [and a] maximum figure governing the cubical contents of

the buildings" and for judges and contestants to subscribe in good faith to these rules. Santa Ana and San Fernando were the first California school districts to adopt the new guidelines, and Austin hoped that others soon would do so as well.<sup>42</sup>

The 1872 law had long been ignored by architects and school boards alike, and, until its nullification in 1915, counties interpreted the AIA's new code according to their own guidelines. In 1913, the Los Angeles County District Attorney's office handed down a decision allowing school trustees in the county to select their architects in whatever way they saw fit. Following Los Angeles's lead, in late 1914 the Palo Alto school board designated Allison & Allison the architects of that city's new high school, making it clear that board members had based their decision to some extent on the Allison's "trustworthiness as men and . . . fidelity in supervision." The ensuing review process, however, was not a simple one.<sup>43</sup>

"School Trustees Defend Selection; Tell Why They Selected Allison & Allison as Architects for Building; Local Builders are Satisfied with Plans of the Architects," trumpeted the *Palo Alto Times* on January 11, 1917. Throughout 1915 and 1916, Palo Alto had been abuzz over the question of hiring "outsiders" to design the school's buildings. Although Allison & Allison



*A certain amount of whimsy consistently infused the Allison's work. This bas-relief medallion of a barefoot chef, placed on the Domestic Arts building at the Los Angeles State Normal School, was part of a series of contorted characters seemingly twisted without protest into circular frames and applied to various campus buildings. Other professions depicted in the set included a seamstress, a chemist, and a lepidopterist examining a giant specimen.*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES

had conducted business in California since the beginning of the decade, to northern California building contractors the firm was a southern California enterprise and therefore a suspect choice. The Allisons, the builders reasoned, could not be counted on to favor local workers over Los Angeles-area labor. Taking nothing for granted, the Allisons had pressed hard for the Palo Alto job, launching a full-scale public relations campaign to win over the community. In a potentially imprudent move, they had agreed to prepare actual plans at no fee and to assist in promoting a bond issue by inviting the public to attend stereopticon slide presentations of their other work.<sup>44</sup>

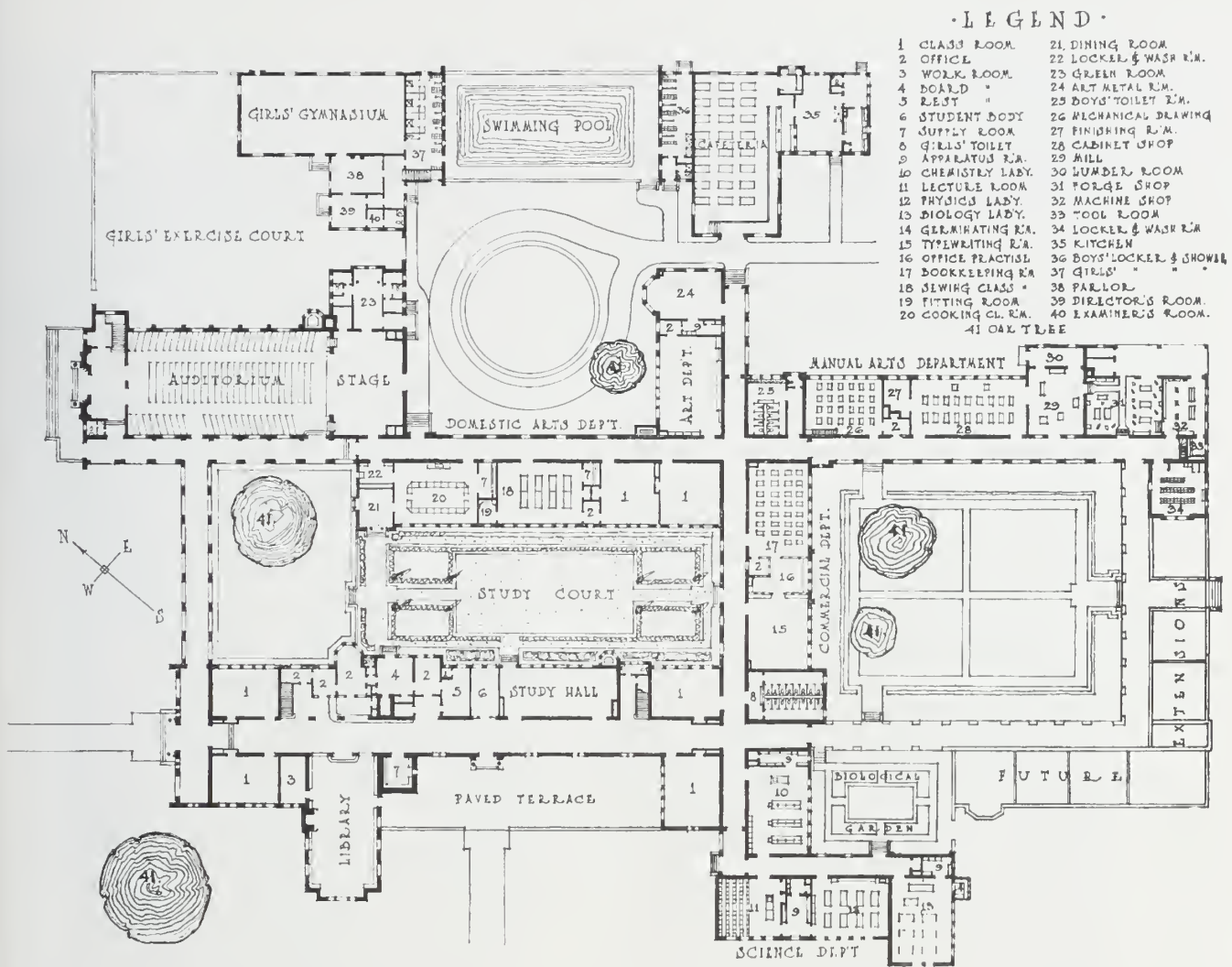
The Palo Alto community's concern about hiring a Los Angeles firm caught the attention of architects and builders up and down the state, partly because of the way the matter was resolved. "Out of the hubbub," reported the *Southwest Contractor*, "came a most remarkable procedure. . . . The school trustees called a committee of local contractors and submitted to them a typical set of working plans and specifications furnished by three architects under consideration with a request that the contractors examine the plans and pass judgment on them. The contractors after due deliberation reported that the best plans were those made by Allison & Allison. With such plans to figure from the contractors were certain they would have a square deal in the bidding. . . ."<sup>45</sup>

The committee thus decided that Allison & Allison's blueprints were the easiest to understand and thereby the most economical: The clearer the drawings, the more accurately contractors could figure cost estimates, and the greater the likelihood of reasonable construction bids. The *Palo Alto Times* printed a full statement from the school board, reporting that the Allisons had agreed to prepare all specifications to favor northern California labor. The board vowed to use "all the possible and legitimate ways of preventing [a southern California builder] from securing

the contract." Board members had made a "long and most careful investigation" of the Allison firm. After interviewing school board members from other districts, as well as "a large number of school men, [and] representative engineers, the board selected Allison and Allison as the best school architects in the state. To have selected any other than the best would have been a violation of our trust." Aesthetic considerations aside, "best" clearly referred to the precision of the Allison drawings and to their resultant ability to conserve a school district's budget. When the Santa Monica school board offered the firm new work in 1921, its invitation turned on the brothers' consistent exactness in the preparation of drawings and specifications.<sup>46</sup>

The heady feeling of being in the forefront of California's architectural community and breaking through regional blockades to sustain the firm's reputation as the leading school men of the day must have gone dull for J. E. Allison in the spring of 1917, when he found himself center stage in a national-level review of his professional conduct. Arthur F. Rosenheim, whom Allison recently had appointed chair of the AIA Southern California Chapter's Committee on Institute Membership "in recognition of his fine work in this line," called J. E. on a fine point of the AIA guidelines governing participation in competitions for school buildings. In December 1914, having found the 1872 California law in conflict with its requirements, the national AIA Committee on Practice had suspended certain portions of the AIA Canon of Ethics so that California architects could enter competitions for school projects with impunity. Those involved in achieving the suspension anticipated that the 1872 law soon would be overturned; relaxing the canon was intended as a temporary measure to allow California architects to continue to obtain school contracts in the interim. The language of the AIA resolution to loosen competition requirements was open to interpretation, however.<sup>47</sup>





Allison & Allison presented a scrupulously detailed concept plan for the high school at Palo Alto. The design's appeal was not only in its fully equipped laboratories and physical education facilities, but also in its determination to achieve a coherent, rational arrangement of both open and enclosed spaces without the restraint of absolute symmetry. The square footage allocated for the library and the biological garden was surpassed by that of a formally landscaped outdoor study court similar in dimensions to the auditorium and accessible from the main corridor through an open-air study hall.

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES

In the same report in which he had announced Rosenheim's committee appointment, Allison had delivered a sanctimonious treatise on the need to amend or repeal laws that impeded architects' opportunities to secure school jobs. Whether irked by Allison's tone, or, as Allison declared, driven by jealousy, Rosenheim, by this time chairman of the Southern California Chapter's Subcommittee on Competitions, sought an official AIA ruling against J. E. Allison for having entered an unendorsed competition for a school

at El Centro in 1914 without AIA approval. Justifying the delay in raising the issue, Rosenheim maintained that he had first learned about the Allison's' participation in February 1917. Even though Allison & Allison had not won the El Centro contract, by taking part in this design contest at the crucial point before AIA rules were formally meshed with California law, the firm had provided just the misstep Rosenheim needed in order to make his case.<sup>48</sup>

This was not the first time the Allison's means of getting work had raised eyebrows within the profession: the January 1915 *Architect and Engineer* had devoted a few lines to the question of whether the Palo Alto school board had irregularly retained the firm. Courting Palo Alto in late 1914 also had been a chancy gambit for the Allison's. The timing of their effort to obtain the Palo Alto job without benefit of competition was troublesome: the California Second District Court of Appeal had rendered a surprise decision on November 27, 1914, reinforcing the 1872 act, and the AIA in Washington did not resolve until December 21 to set aside the Canon of Ethics pending nullification of the outdated law. Review of the "Allison Case" lasted from May to September 1917, culminating in a favorable decision for the brothers. Rosenheim fumed that the institute was turning a blind eye to obvious infringements of legal and professional codes but finally accepted the AIA's decision. Still piqued, he switched his energies to producing fresh allegations against two other colleagues. Perhaps he saw himself as an upholder of principles, but his approach did not sit well with at least one member of the AIA Committee on Practice, who reflected that Rosenheim's own conduct was "disagreeable." The spotlight on the Allison's rapidly faded, and J. E. turned the firm's forces to the completion of the Palo Alto Union High School.<sup>49</sup>

While David was off in France as a volunteer in the American Red Cross, the high school finally opened "with due ceremony" on Christmas Eve, 1918. The Palo Alto group plan displayed a fresh change from the confines of Beaux-Arts theory. The overall conception, with its broad, curved driveways and less axial arrangement of parts, was freer and more dynamic in organization than any of Allison's earlier work, as critic Irving Morrow pointed out in 1923. In this regard Palo Alto was the forerunner of the high schools at Santa Maria and Huntington Beach. All three represented David's urge to develop a "Californian"

type of educational environment, drawing on traditional, often ecclesiastical themes while relaxing the strictures of architectural formality.<sup>50</sup>

Wartime economies had had their dispiriting effects on David's concept for Palo Alto, and plans for a forge mill and swimming pool had to be scrapped. Even though the campus was designed to be open to future expansion, School Board Building Committee member Sidney D. Townley lamented "the heartbreaking task of changing and eliminating some of our most cherished ideas. . . ." Townley's disappointment also came through in his tepid response to the exteriors. The Allison's had reserved ornamental treatments for key placement and optimum impact, such as at the auditorium's portal entrance, and thus the expanses of some of the buildings appeared to Townley bland and institutional. Townley granted that the group as a whole was "devoid of useless ornamentation," but hinted his regret about the "severe simplicity of design. . . ." He seemed less worried about structural shortcuts. "[On] account of the excessive cost it was necessary to change the construction of the one-story portions to wood," he wrote, brushing off concerns about fire safety. Townley also defended the use of brick in parts of the complex. Such choices as these would come back to haunt the Allison's a decade and a half later.<sup>51</sup>

David Allison quoted from Palo Alto in his buildings for Whittier College, especially his arcaded Naylor Hall (1918). The Allison's general plan for "A Greater Whittier College," in which great winding walkways meandered up a steep grade to an observatory at the summit, never came to fruition. Had it done so, Whittier would have had fourteen buildings in a style "reminiscent of Italian Renaissance" (and here a bow to Whittier's Quaker roots) "with a suggestion of English Georgian," as well as a replica of John Greenleaf Whittier's Haverhill, Massachusetts, birthplace for the president's house! Instead, the campus grew in increments, representing the work of



several architects, including the Allison's successor firm. The Allison's were responsible for Platner, Naylor, and Wardman Halls and Wardman Gymnasium.<sup>52</sup>

## A NEW CAMPUS SITE

Soon after Palo Alto's high school students moved into their new buildings, the Allison's became involved in charting a new phase in the future of the Los Angeles State Normal School. In 1919 the Regents of the University of California reluctantly assumed the operation of the Normal School as the Southern Branch of the university. The school's director, Ernest Carroll Moore, allied with Regent Edward Dickson, had pressed Berkeley persistently to provide a state university for the Southland, and Moore had offered the Normal School's campus as a site for the proposed new institution. Finally the Regents yielded, and the California legislature approved the transfer of the Vermont Avenue property to the University of California on May 24. Belatedly, at Moore's recommendation, the Regents named Allison & Allison supervising architects of the University of California, Southern Branch in 1922; the Allison's' original agreement had been with the trustees of the Normal School, not with the Regents.<sup>53</sup>

As enrollments swelled, and the Southern Branch acquired a stronger identity, the Regents began a search for a new campus site, ultimately acquiring a parcel of the Wolfskill Rancho in a district of Los Angeles between Beverly Hills and Santa Monica that soon would become known as Westwood. In 1925 the Regents' Committee on Grounds and Buildings nominated George W. Kelham of San Francisco to succeed John Galen Howard at the Berkeley campus. The appointment of Kelham, who had been supervising architect of the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1915, was carefully worded to assure that he also would be responsible for laying out the

Westwood campus. No recorded discussion in the Regents' minutes indicates that other firms would be interviewed or that separate appointments would be made for Berkeley and Los Angeles. Desiring direct control over the shaping of its southern extension, the Regents moved quickly to assign Kelham to draw up the campus plan for the University of California at Los Angeles. In an awkward twist, however, the Allison's still were retained by the university; their duties evidently were confined to Vermont Avenue, although their contract was open-ended on this matter. The UCLA master plan was presented to the Regents under Kelham's signature in March 1926, but Kelham's contract did not supersede the Allison's' until February 1927.<sup>54</sup>

The Los Angeles contingent would have none of the Regents' scheme for a long-distance architect and insisted that David Allison, by now something of an ex-officio member of the Southern Branch executive team, have a guiding role in the formation of the UCLA campus. George B. Allison, J. E. and David's nephew, who joined the firm in 1931, recalled forty years later that Kelham and Allison were good friends; Ernest C. Moore's 1952 memoir characterized the two architects as an energetic duo. Edwin Janss, whose investment company had owned part of the Westwood site, engaged the Allison's to design his company office, "The Dome," in Westwood Village. Janss plainly viewed the Allison firm as having had full charge of UCLA's building program, and wrote in 1931, "At the time the Regents [. . .] wanted an architect for the University of California at Los Angeles [. . .] Allison & Allison were selected as the architects on absolute merit." This was not entirely so; within the University of California there clearly were regional antagonisms at the administrative levels in Berkeley and Los Angeles. Not until 1934 did the Regents actualize David Allison's role at UCLA, retiring Kelham from his Los Angeles duties and appointing Allison as supervising



*The commercial village of Westwood, bordering the University of California, Los Angeles, was promoted by its developers, the Janss Investment Co., as "The Town for the Gown." A Westwood landmark from its inception, Allison & Allison's Dome building served early on as headquarters of the Janss group. The building was zoned as a hotel and served as a UCLA men's dorm and barbershop in its early years.*

THELNER AND LOUISE HOOVER COLLECTION, UCLA UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

architect in his stead. What pressures were brought to bear to channel David Allison into the UCLA post are not spelled out in the Regents' minutes. Kelham did not, for the record at least, resist the changeover and in fact agreed with Berkeley President Robert Gordon Sproul that David Allison should fill the UCLA position. Allison heartily took the reins at Westwood, presenting several potential new schematics for enhancing the campus. One of these, drawn up by George B. Allison in 1935, included a campanile, which was never built, and an open-air theatre, constructed in the mid-1940s and later demolished.<sup>55</sup>

Surely David Allison was responsible for the selection of the Lombard Romanesque motif for the first UCLA buildings—a choice popular among those who had sentimental ties to the Vermont Avenue campus and criticized by others who did not. Of the original four buildings situated around Dickson Plaza, Kelham's office produced the library and the chemistry building. The campus keynote, Royce Hall, and the physics/biology building were awarded to Allison & Allison. The men's and women's gymnasiums, at the foot of the brick stairway known as the Janss Steps, were given to Kelham and to Allison & Allison, respectively; the Regents chose



Kelham as architect of the education building in 1928. It is frankly difficult to separate Kelham's Lombard efforts from Allison & Allison's, and the unity of proportion and style of course were deliberate. In an important early deviation from the Romanesque theme, Allison & Allison chose Austin Whittlesey to design the brick student union, Kerckhoff Hall, in Tudor Gothic. Whittlesey was adept in the Gothic mode, and David Allison apparently liked the idea of setting off the Romanesque theme with a commanding brick structure in another revival style.<sup>56</sup>

In Royce and Kerckhoff Halls, the firm's predilection for whimsy emerged once again when the Allison's drew upon secular motifs of the sort integral to certain Medieval European cathedrals, in which not all decoration was spiritual or sacred. Royce, based on San Ambrogio in Milan, is made essentially Californian by means of a bas-relief strip depicting the covered wagons and locomotives that brought the "incoming population" of which Charles Cheney had spoken so fervently in 1914. Kerckhoff Hall's stained glass windows contain representations of the lumber and hydroelectric power industries, which were the business interests of the donor's deceased husband, William Kerckhoff.<sup>57</sup>

The most far-reaching of David Allison's recommendations was filling in the arroyo between Dickson Plaza and the administration building. The first structure erected at UCLA had been a bridge, similar to a Roman viaduct, which spanned the arroyo. David Allison correctly anticipated sentimental resistance to eliminating the bridge, but his plan to reclaim the eight to ten acres that would be made available by filling in the arroyo impressed university comptroller J. H. Corley, who urged President Sproul to accept Allison's idea. The work began in 1945, and the resulting subsurface was used for power and water lines—not, as some other visionary had suggested at the time, for an underground parking garage.<sup>58</sup>

Parking and on-campus housing were two growing problems whose magnitude David Allison did not recognize in the 1940s, when many students still commuted to Westwood via public transit. Allison's notion of student housing derived from the small residential colleges: three- or four-story dormitories, built around a court, providing small private rooms in a comradely arrangement. David saw his Blaisdell Hall, now part of the Mudd-Blaisdell Hall complex, at Pomona College (1936 and later) as representing this image. The era of high-rise residence halls and multilevel garages at UCLA arrived only after Allison's retirement.<sup>59</sup>

David Allison was sixty-five and had been associated with the Vermont Avenue and Westwood campuses for over half his life when he stepped down as supervising architect in 1946. By this time, objections to continuing to build in the Romanesque mode at Westwood were gathering strength. To succeed him, Allison had recommended Myron Hunt's partner, H. C. Chambers, but the Regents chose the young and enterprising modernists Walter Wurdeman and Welton Becket, who were just completing the streamlined Bullock's department store in Pasadena. These men leapt into UCLA's post-war period with all manner of new building forms. But as Robert Judson Clark remarked about the UCLA campus in 1980, "The importance of precedent and symbol did not soon die. [. . . The] brick buildings stand in the Southern sun, secularized churches in which to carry on the traditions of education inherited from the Mediterranean world—that place of prefiguration for so many things Californian."<sup>60</sup>

#### A SCHOOL FOR A NEW COMMUNITY

Allison & Allison had entered the 1920s on a crest of good will and success. The year 1923 was an especially propitious one, led off in January by the announcement that the Southern California

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*This view of the University of California at Los Angeles circa 1938 demonstrates the remote feeling of the new campus at a location described by the university's first director, Ernest Carroll Moore, as "on the knees of the mountains . . . one of the rare spots on this earth." Visible in the foreground are a baseball diamond and campus buildings (left to right: the Women's Gymnasium/Dance Building, Royce Hall, Men's Gymnasium, Powell Library, Kerckhoff Hall, and Moore Hall [behind]). A parking lot full of cars reflects the university's shift toward becoming an automobile-dependent commuter campus.*

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## UCLA: "The California of the South"

The search for a stronger identity for Los Angeles's Normal School led in 1919 to its establishment as the University of California, Southern Branch and six years later to a new site on 384 acres in the village of Westwood. As construction began in 1927, the UC Regents adopted the name University of California at Los Angeles for its new campus, renaming it officially in 1958 as the University of California, Los Angeles.

On September 23, 1929, fifty-five hundred students attended their first classes at the Westwood site, where, President Robert Gordon Sproul wrote in a 1930 issue of *The Architect and Engineer*, "the work of even the most inspired teacher cannot help but be facilitated by a well-planned and harmonious background."





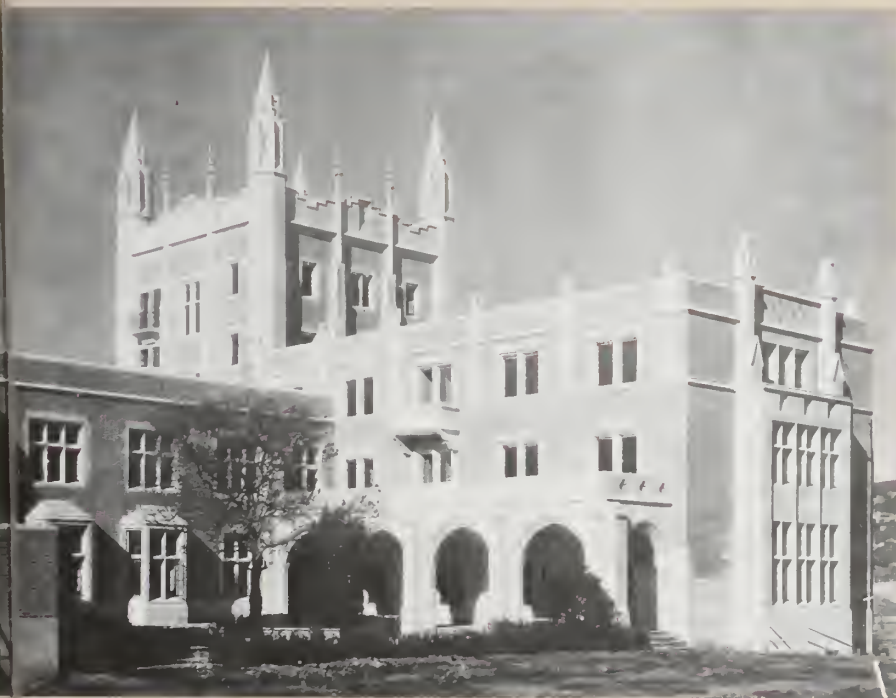
Three years after ground was broken for Royce Hall in September 1927, Robert Sproul drew correlations between architects and educators, noting: "The buildings in which the developing student spends the greater part of his days while at college are a part of the host of experiences from which he must draw the material for the structure of his inner life."

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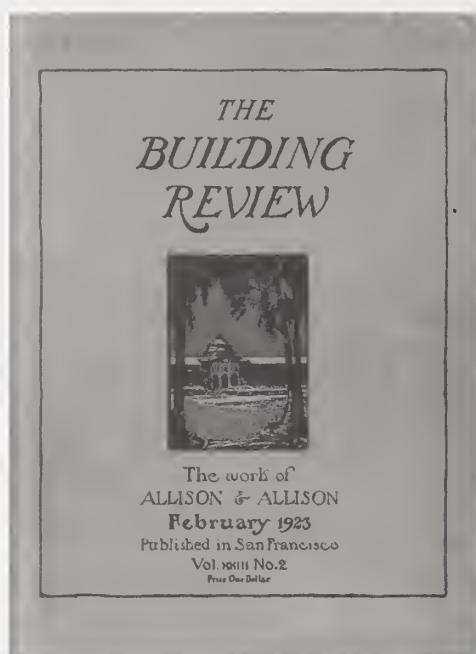
Completed and occupied in 1929, Royce Hall's gracious, asymmetrical silhouette has been utilized in campus logos over the years. It joins three other seminal campus buildings designed by Allison & Allison: the Physics-Biology Building (1929, renamed Edgar Lee Kinsey Hall in 1964), Kerckhoff Hall (1930), and the Women's Gymnasium/Dance Building (1932, renamed Gloria Kaufman Hall in 1999).

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Kerckhoff Hall's spires pierce the sky as the arcade (foreground) brings in the outdoor setting. The journal *School and Society* in 1931 described the \$800,000 student union's "numerous grills and banquet rooms, the cooperative store, and spacious lounge rooms . . . richly furnished in a variety of upholstered furniture" in leather, tapestry, and linen. The only Tudor Gothic building at UCLA, Kerckhoff Hall, like the Edison building, was designed by Austin Whittlesey of Allison & Allison.

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*The February 1923 limited-run issue of The Building Review was devoted to the work of Allison & Allison. The cover's woodcut motif, in teal and earth tones, depicts Millspaugh Hall on the campus of the Los Angeles State Normal School. As the journal's editors offered: "This edition . . . will be not only a monument to the success of Allison and Allison, but a guide in the building of numberless future school edifices."*

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Chapter of AIA would bestow on the firm a medal for the design of the Palo Alto Union High School. February brought a special issue of the San Francisco publication *The Building Review*, devoted to the work of Allison & Allison and carrying 108 lush half-tone plates and an essay by Irving Morrow. David Allison's July 23 marriage, at the age of forty-two, to Mary Elizabeth Knapp rounded out the first part of the year.

During the mid-1920s, David became involved in the project to develop the Palos Verdes peninsula into the planned community of Palos Verdes Estates, which Charles Cheney touted as "the largest single piece of city planning by private

enterprise ever undertaken in this country for permanent development." Allison joined Cheney and Myron Hunt on the Art Jury (architectural review board) at its inception in 1922, and his experience led him to become a strong proponent of architectural design controls. The Allison firm produced two schools in Palos Verdes, Malaga Cove and Miraleste. Malaga Cove Elementary School, which incorporated David Allison's affection for uniting the simple and fanciful, expressed most vividly in its crowned clock tower, opened in the spring of 1926, sited to appeal to the senses. Nestled in a rocky rise overlooking the cove, it provided spectacular sea views. Reciting the benefits of family living in the new community, a promotional booklet offered an extra puff of enchantment by noting evocatively that the school was situated "within sound of the Pacific surf." The project brought the Allisons in contact once again with the Olmsted firm, instrumental in the planning of Palos Verdes and responsible for the landscape and grounds of Malaga Cove and of Miraleste, high above San Pedro.<sup>61</sup>

When Malaga Cove received an Honor Award in 1927 from the AIA Southern California Chapter, John Bakewell, Jr., one of the chapter judges, wrote that this award category was intended to "give the public some real standard and to direct the public taste. . . . Most of the public," opined Bakewell, "does not actually prefer queer or bad things, and when superior work is pointed out, it is willing to accept it. . . ." The patronizing timbre of this observation echoed Superintendent Hyatt's 1909 tract, and yet Bakewell did not suggest that criteria for discriminating taste in

"Allison has been able to transform the school house from the uninteresting building in which unwilling youths were taught and punished, to a picturesque architectural composition."



architecture were predetermined and unchanging. He went on to comment upon the rapidity with which imaginativeness in California school design had been "condensed in the work of one man. [David] Allison," wrote Bakewell, "has been able to transform the school house from the uninteresting building in which unwilling youths were taught and punished, to a picturesque architectural composition. . . . He has learned to do this by experimental progress." Without referring directly to escapades or flights of fancy, Bakewell had seized the crux of Allison's method of slipping in a detail such as the fairy tale clock tower and waiting to see how the community would respond. In his polite but dispassionate statement acknowledging the Honor Award, the president of the Board of Education noted that Palos Verdes was "complimented and gratified at this recognition of our splendid building." More than a year later, the *Palos Verdes Bulletin* published the construction history of the school as straight reportage. Neither response suggests a lukewarm response to the Malaga Cove facility, but rather that the citizens of Palos Verdes Estates had received a building that conformed well to "the public's" expectations.<sup>62</sup>

Malaga Cove was but one of many buildings that communicated David Allison's advocacy of concrete as a means of creative expression and his respect for its structural constancy "in a country where earthquakes pay us occasional visits. . . . The one thing most needed," Allison declared in a paper read before the Concrete Institute, "is for more architects of designing ability to realize that this material is capable of unlimited development; it can be moulded into any form that the imagination can conceive . . . and may frankly be brought clear through to the surface and admit its identity honestly, convincingly, beautifully."<sup>63</sup>

#### A CALIFORNIAN ARCHITECTURE

In Palos Verdes, David Allison was an active participant in the arena of public taste. The Palos Verdes Art Jury officially adopted the term "Californian" architecture in 1928. The members resolved "to discourage the use of the terms 'Mission Style,' 'Spanish Style,' or 'Mediterranean Style' as being unfortunate misnomers . . . Californian architecture is defined as that distinctive style which for several decades has been

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*The site of Malaga Cove Elementary School, which opened in 1926, had without question the most advantageous vista ever afforded Allison & Allison for a school building. It is currently the focus of plans for modernization and a redesign.*

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*The Wilshire Boulevard Methodist Church, an example of Allison & Allison's major Italianesque-revival ecclesiastical designs, was executed in monolithic concrete beginning in 1924. Originally built as Wilshire Congregational Church, its exterior decorative motifs draw some secular inspiration from the roots of Congregationalism: the coat of arms of Plymouth, England; the seal of Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts; and a cast stone scene of the cabin of the Mayflower.*

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## David Allison and the Art of Concrete

Until the 1920s, American and European architects tended to regard concrete as a mere working surface in which to embed brick or tile veneer. How could a substance so inexpensively concocted stand for anything but serviceability? Concrete, wrote David Allison, unlike her "fortunate older sisters . . . such as stone, marble, granite and terra cotta . . . has been assigned to the duties of the scullery and asked to do only the most common and hard manual labor."<sup>1</sup>

Two major issues plagued early twentieth-century architectural theorists engaged in the concrete dialectic:

whether it should be acceptable to build in concrete without applying a stucco, masonry, or other decorative veneer to the exterior wall surfaces, and whether concrete required its own, rather than any historical, style. The related matter of the formwork—the "mold" of shiplap boards into which concrete walls were poured—caused further confusion among the purists who could not accept the concept of a cast building as a piece of art.<sup>2</sup>

By the second decade of the twentieth century the Allison's were routinely employing concrete in school building construction. From a structural point of

view, the material was already known to be economical, fire-resistant, and sanitary—all desirable qualities in school-house design. Monolithic concrete (alternatively described, with certain variations in meaning, as reinforced or ferro-concrete)—the framing system in which concrete beams, walls, and floors enclose steel reinforcing rods—was also coming into acceptance as a seismic-resistant construction method. Its suitability to the Mediterranean revival style boosted its reputation further.<sup>3</sup>

David Allison was fascinated with the versatility of concrete as an artistic medium and he delighted in its raw beauty. Like J. E. Allison, David had wearied of the classical mode, calling it "a maze of structural contradiction."



His designs for some major Los Angeles projects in the 1920s displayed a wide array of possibilities for concrete, emphasizing historical motifs while applying rather progressive theories of the plasticity and honesty of the material.<sup>4</sup>

The building committee of the Thirteenth Church of Christ, Scientist, Los Angeles, chose Allison & Allison as architects of its new concrete church in 1924, after interviewing ten leading local architects and visiting many churches and auditoriums. Upon a visit to the Wilshire Boulevard Congregational (later First United Methodist) Church, the committee pronounced it "the finest building of the kind that we have seen. . . . Mr. MacLarren, the superintendent in charge of the construction work, said the cast concrete work on this building would have been thought utterly impossible twenty years ago." The façade is based on the church of St. Francis in Brescia, northern Italy (A.D. 1280). The tower—square, pinnacled, and set back at its peak—is 152 feet high and is patterned after the Torracio of Cremona. A souvenir publication of 1935 maintained that Wilshire Methodist was the first American church of its "magnitude and class" to be built "from foundation to tower" in sheer concrete; surely it was one of the earliest.<sup>5</sup>

In the Italian Renaissance buildings designed for the University Club (1921; Frank Lloyd Wright, Jr., landscape architect), the Friday Morning Club (1923), and the Women's Athletic Club (1925), Allison's challenge was to create an urbane architecture in concrete for the downtown headquarters of these organizations. All three buildings fronted on the street; all demanded a certain residential character.<sup>6</sup>

Allison first experimented with exposed concrete in the University Club, in which he left the form marks evident beneath a mere dash coat of water-proofing stucco. Here he first made

use of colored stain on cement, and incorporated the painted and stained concrete ceiling beams of the main lounge into the decorative atmosphere of the room.<sup>7</sup>

A light dash of stucco also was applied to the exposed form marks of the Friday Morning and Women's Athletic Clubs. The street front of the Women's Athletic Club was decorated with a *sgraffito* technique, using brown, buff, blue, and green plasters to set off the

neutral concrete surface. *Sgraffito*, the process of scratching through plaster or glaze to reveal another color beneath, represented to Allison a universal, irresistible human "impulse to scratch a newly plastered wall before it has entirely hardened." Incised ornament, cast stone, and bas-relief were other decorative touches that Allison saw as part of the appeal of concrete's malleable nature.<sup>8</sup>



*Clubs and churches constituted an important component of the Allison's design work. During the 1920s, the trend of allowing "surface details" to remain in their "natural" state became part of the Allison aesthetic. The Friday Morning Club (1923), founded by Caroline Severance, sought and received an outstanding combination of auditorium, meeting, and library facilities for the promotion of cultural enrichment and social and political reform.*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES

successfully developing in this State, deriving its chief inspiration directly or indirectly from Latin types which developed under similar climatic conditions along the Mediterranean, or at points in California, such as Monterey. . . . Color is generally very light in tone. . . . Roofs are low-pitched . . . usually of tile laid random. . . ."<sup>64</sup>

As vice president of the Art Jury when it espoused this resolution, David Allison thus became a de facto author of a definition of "Californian." The *Palos Verdes Bulletin* quoted his creed: "[The] romance and beauty of the tile-roofed, plaster exterior building, often arched or arcaded, [has] had a strong appeal to all of us. . . . We may justly and appropriately term [the style] 'Californian.'" The designation itself is admittedly hazy; what is notable is that the jury took a stab at crafting a definition at all and that its members deliberately put aside terms such as "Mission," "Spanish," and "Mediterranean" when attempting to find meaning in a regional architecture. The jury's written statement recollects J. E. Allison's 1915 article, in which he urged "essentially Southern" forms for California's future—a future that had now arrived. David Allison and his jury colleagues looked around them. Whatever "Californian" was, they knew it when they saw it. For now, at the height of the development boom of the 1920s, "Californian" was in demand. Allison & Allison schools would continue to suggest the "Californian" traits outlined in the jury's resolution, but David Allison would openly acknowledge that buildings such as Royce Hall were derived from Mediterranean antecedents.<sup>65</sup>

#### SEISMIC FORCES, STRIPPED CLASSICISM

As the 1920s grew to a close and the Great Depression gripped the country, the slump hit the architecture profession hard. The Allisons felt its impact. They landed several public works contracts through federal recovery programs and managed to keep the firm going. Then on March 10, 1933, shortly before six in the evening,

an earthquake struck southern California, causing severe damage at Compton and Long Beach. About a week later, David Allison and his nephew George took a windshield survey of the havoc wrought in these two cities. At Long Beach, the quake had devastated Allison & Allison's Jefferson Junior High School, reducing its brick walls to rubble. Other Allison buildings, including those at UCLA, fared far better, but Jefferson represented an especially close call: less than an hour before the quake, several hundred children had been in the school's auditorium attending a touring-company production of *Little Women*. Parents throughout the state, realizing how many children might have been killed had the shock occurred earlier in the day, immediately called for legislation to govern the structural safety of future public school buildings. The resulting Field Act cleared the California legislature on April 10, 1933.<sup>66</sup>

In a matter of minutes on that March evening, most types of wood and masonry construction, hollow tile bearing walls, brick veneer, and separately cast concrete ornament had proven wholly inappropriate for earthquake country. The Long Beach temblor sounded the death knell for the California brick industry and called attention to design and engineering flaws in school buildings, while simultaneously providing new work for some of the same architects, including Allison & Allison, who had produced those structurally inadequate facilities. The residents of Santa Monica, having heard the reports of the committee they had dispatched to Long Beach, voted to redesign their high school, but this time they did not engage Allison & Allison. The Romanesque tapestry brickwork was removed, exposing a structural steel frame. Over this, a sleek and modern concrete shell, designed by the firm of Marsh, Smith & Powell, took the place of the once-lauded 1912–13 Romanesque exterior.<sup>67</sup>

The Field Act did not provide a plan for the inspection of, or corrective measures to, existing



school buildings (this came with the Garrison Act in 1939), and at least until the 1960s and 1970s, with the passage of the Greene Acts, it was not uniformly enforced. Santa Monica citizens achieved what was probably the first system-wide inspection of school facilities by a state team in the fall of 1933 after another, milder earthquake rocked the community. The inspection report, released in 1934, announced all schools in Santa Monica to be structurally unsound. Allison & Allison, having been called back for additional projects starting in 1921, were the architects of a number of these. At Santa Ana, where the Allison family had furnished two junior high and five elementary schools, inspectors found little stress in the reinforced concrete buildings, whose twelve-inch-thick, load-bearing walls had resisted the earth's sway. The greatest problems consisted in the joining of unlike materials, such as wood truss roofs with concrete walls; inadequate attic ventilation, creating the possibility of dry rot in the framing members; and loose roofing tiles. In May 1934 the Santa Ana school board voted funds for roof repair, but the money apparently could not be raised and the problems had to go untended. By the 1960s, with the availability of new concrete stress tests and a renewed push to implement the Field Act and its successors, each pre-1933 school building in Santa Ana was slated for repair or demolition. Ultimately, all were removed in the early 1970s.<sup>68</sup>

Finger-pointing was the game of the hour during the period following the Long Beach earthquake. The *New Republic*, in an item entitled "Murder in California," blamed the "cupidity of California businessmen" for the 115 deaths resulting from the quake. A year later, the magazine took credit for having broken the "conspiracy of silence" on the part of California newspapers and chambers of commerce. Los Angeles architect Ralph Flewelling, in an article on post-earthquake building trends for California schools, which showcased Allison & Allison's new Santa Ana High School, referred darkly to the political consider-

ations that had influenced the poor construction methods used in the devastated buildings. Still, engineers, builders, and architects—including Allison & Allison—clearly had to take immediate responsibility to rehabilitate or to provide new facilities for California schools within the limits of 1930s understanding of seismic-resistant design and testing methods for the tensile strength of building materials.<sup>69</sup>

School boards in Huntington Beach, Redondo Beach, Santa Ana, and Van Nuys, where Allison & Allison schools had satisfactorily withstood the earthquake, called in the firm for rehabilitation and new construction. The earthquake, cost considerations, the role of the federal government in the design of civic architecture, and the popularity of Art Moderne led to concrete school buildings that were strictly engineered and sharply angled, with minimal decoration. The Allison firm adopted this trend; the new administration building for Van Nuys High School exhibited a "stripped classical" treatment incorporating fluted pilasters flush with the façade but without such perceived excesses as columns or porticoes. George Allison's designs for the elementary school at Huntington Beach and the manual arts wing at Redondo are massed, geometric units, resolute and solid in demeanor. At Redondo, he continued the firm's tradition of favoring architectural pleasantries over pedantry with a bas-relief of an airplane that one might imagine to have just cleared the transom above the entrance. It was at Ontario, on the campus of Chaffey High School and Junior College, where Allison & Allison veered away from the notion that California school architecture of the 1930s must be defined by the restrictions of the Moderne and of stripped classicism.<sup>70</sup>

## CREATIVE CULMINATION

The Allison family's first building for Chaffey Junior College was completed in 1931. Tower Hall, as

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*Most schools in Long Beach were severely damaged by the quake, and Allison & Allison's Jefferson Junior High School collapsed. Striking only hours after the end of the school day, the earthquake was a rallying call to school boards to redesign schools with reinforced concrete and prompted rapid passage of the Field Act in April 1933. The act gave the State Division of Architecture authority to approve the design and supervise the construction of public schools and led to improved building codes.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



## The 1933 Long Beach Earthquake: Seismic forces “where earthquakes pay us occasional visits”

Although the effects of earthquakes were not unknown to the Allison and other Southland architects, few anticipated the widespread devastation to schools built of brick and nonresistant to the lateral stress that was caused by the Long Beach earthquake of 1933.

The quake's magnitude of 6.4 along the Newport-Inglewood fault zone caused over fifty million Depression-era dollars of property loss. Of those who died, five were children who perished in collapsed gymnasiums.







Thirty-three miles north of Jefferson Junior High School, Allison & Allison's Santa Monica High School sustained substantial loss. Official inspections pointed out the hazards of inadequate joist anchors and beams and of brick and hollow-tile construction. In 1934, following subsequent quakes, extensive renovation and modernization of the campus began, during which students attended classes in tents (opposite page, bottom). The school's brick facing (above) was removed and replaced with a new exterior, designed by Marsh, Smith & Powell in 1937 (below). The renovation was completed in 1938.

TENTS IN SCHOOLYARD, 1933, COURTESY OF THE SANTA MONICA PUBLIC LIBRARY/CONNIE CRAMER COLLECTION; SANTA MONICA HIGH SCHOOL BEFORE AND AFTER REMODELING, CA. 1937, NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION



The Allison firm's extant school and collegiate buildings are agents of continuity for the historian and for those whose own school-day memories are linked to the California campuses of Allison & Allison.

it is known, now serves as the administration building for Chaffey High School, which presently occupies the entire Euclid Avenue campus. Allison & Allison's library (1935) and auditorium (1939) were both constructed under federal building programs and purported to reflect "Mexican Colonial" architecture. The central entrance of the library is hung with undulating cast ornament. The pylons spaced along the south and north wings are evocative of the nearby San Gabriel Mission—in the Allison's body of work, a rare, but specific, throwback to a mission influence. The arcade leading into the 2,400-seat auditorium gives the appearance, in architect and critic Charles Moore's words, of having been fashioned with a cookie cutter. On the eve of the dedication, the student newspaper described the auditorium's ceiling mural, the work of artist E Petersen: "[Its] idyllic visions of antiquity seemingly lift the weight of the building, through the use of soft shades of blue with gold trim." Writing in 1984, Moore declared the Chaffey library and auditorium to "illustrate the extraordinary capacity of the firm of Allison and Allison to reinterpret vigorously either a historic or a current style and to whip up maximum drama within the rigid public budgetary constraints of the Depression."<sup>71</sup>

The Chaffey campus marked the creative culmination of the Allison's careers in southern California. In 1940, according to an in-house history, the firm still had three college buildings, two elementary schools, a private residence, and a federal housing project on the boards, but its work was winding down.<sup>72</sup>

J. E. Allison officially retired on April 1, 1942, exactly fifty years after opening his Pittsburgh office; David Allison continued as supervising architect at UCLA for another four years, and later served as a consultant to the United Nations headquarters project in New York. J. E., principal

in the firm whose reputation with school districts throughout California had been predicated on the accuracy of plans and specs, wrote lightheartedly from his home in San Fernando to his sister-in-law Amy Boggs Allison in 1945: "I am surely glad to be free from the responsibility of those nerve racking specifications, 50 long years of it is enuf for me." The firm was dissolved in the mid-1940s but was almost immediately reconstituted by George Allison in partnership with Ulysses Floyd Rible. The successor firm, Allison, Rible, Robinson & Ziegler, was absorbed as the Los Angeles office of the Leo A. Daly Companies of Omaha in 1969.<sup>73</sup>

In retirement, both brothers moved from the Los Angeles area, J. E. to the Mission Inn in Santa Barbara, David to La Jolla. There is no doubt that J. E. sought respite from the overwhelming crush of the postwar megalopolis. In 1952, in a letter to Amy Allison, he described Santa Barbara as "a great improvement on Pasadena or San Fernando Valley; in fact I would not want to exchange it as an ideal place to spend the rest of my days, for any other spot that I know of." James Edward Allison died in 1955. David Clark Allison survived his brother by seven years.<sup>74</sup>

#### "AN EASY ASSURANCE, A NOT UNFRIENDLY DIGNITY"

In his 1991 essay, "The Pull of the Past," David McCullough asks why we should care about the historic built environment. He posits, "[It] can . . . be argued that there is no such thing as the past. There is only somebody else's present. All those people who went before us building bridges, raising great structures . . . all of them shared with us the intriguing question: How is it going to come out? They did not know any more than we do."<sup>75</sup>





*"The Auditorium: Symbol of Community Fulfillment" was the headline in the special Auditorium Edition of the Chaffey United Press on March 16, 1939. Dedicated the next day, Gardiner Spring Auditorium, a showpiece of the Chaffey High School campus in Ontario, remains a popular theatre and concert venue.*

COURTESY OF SALLY SIMS STOKES

It is from studying the past, including its buildings, McCullough observes, that we maintain a sense of continuity. We can see how "it"—the building, the bridge, and the effects of its existence, up to now, at least—came out. Adopting a sense of continuity, McCullough explains, we can try to understand past standards of design, construction, and taste in order to evaluate their influence on our present lives. "And continuity, of course," he concludes, "is the essence of writing history and caring about the future."<sup>76</sup>

For James Edward and David Clark Allison, and their contribution to the regional architectural character of California, the "present" consisted of three decades of growth that included over two hundred collegiate and public school buildings. School facilities designed by Allison & Allison conveyed a sense of expectation and permanence to dozens of California communities in the early decades of the twentieth century. Many Allison & Allison buildings have been demolished; others have been significantly altered or await seismic retrofit according to continually improved standards and greater sophistication in materials testing. Some, like Royce Hall at UCLA, have become institutionally symbolic forms, and some certainly can be classified as completely inadequate for today's curricula. Royce Hall sustained severe damage during the 1994 Northridge earthquake and was closed for several years. A \$70 million structural-repair program was completed in 1997 and the building re-opened in 1998 with

significant enhancements to the auditorium, a major Los Angeles performance venue. The Allison buildings that still stand are representations of a purposeful effort to achieve "an easy assurance, a not unfriendly dignity," as leading Los Angeles architect and critic Irving Morrow pronounced when taking the measure of the firm's work in 1938.<sup>77</sup>

Allison & Allison buildings are products of a design philosophy that for the most part blended romantic references to the architectural past with the clear intention that California's students of the pre-World War II "present," and of a future impossible to know, would thrive in a well-organized, well-equipped, and cheerful environment—and that students and faculty would enjoy the advantages of being "in the open air, in a climate like ours!" The Allison firm's extant school and collegiate buildings, and even those that have lost the battle with the wrecking ball, are agents of continuity for the historian and for those whose own school-day memories are linked to the California campuses of Allison & Allison.

SALLY SIMS STOKES was guest scholar to the 2001–2002 exhibition "Defining a Californian Style: The Architecture of Allison & Allison." For sixteen years she was the curator of the National Trust for Historic Preservation Library. Currently she is on the staff of the White House Historical Association. She is co-author, with Susan L. Richards, of "The California Post Offices of Allison & Allison," *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1988).

# NOTES

THE HOUSE THAT RUSSELL BUILT: BILL RUSSELL, THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO, AND THE WINNING STREAK THAT CHANGED COLLEGE BASKETBALL, BY ARAM GOUDSOUZIAN, PP 4-25

Thanks to David Welky, the anonymous readers, the editors and staff at *California History*, the players who agreed to interviews, and especially Father Michael Kotlanger, head of Special Collections at the University of San Francisco.

<sup>1</sup> See Kelli Anderson, "In Their Own Style," *Sports Illustrated* (July 3, 2006): 98-100. Despite popular acknowledgment of the Dons' racial pioneering, sport historians have yet to chart and analyze the team's success. Scholars of Bill Russell have focused on his professional career. See Thomas J. Whalen, *Dynasty's End: Bill Russell and the 1968-69 World Champion Boston Celtics* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004); John Taylor, *The Rivalry: Bill Russell, Wilt Chamberlain, and the Golden Age of Basketball* (New York: Random House, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Russell's career and public persona both exemplify and complicate the historic burden of the black athlete, who has been expected to project racial good will through humility and enthusiasm. See Thomas R. Hietala, *The Fight of the Century: Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), 148-322; William J. Baker, *Jesse Owens: An American Life* (New York: Free Press, 1986); Donald McRae, *Heroes Without a Country: America's Betrayal of Joe Louis and Jesse Owens* (New York: Ecco, 2002); Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, expanded ed., 1997); Arnold Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997); David K. Wiggins, *Glory Bound: Black Athletes in a White America* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997); Patrick B. Miller and David K. Wiggins, eds., *Sport and the Color Line: Black Athletes and Race Relations in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Routledge, 2000); David K. Wiggins and Patrick B. Miller, eds., *The Uneven Playing Field: A Documentary History of the African American Experience in Sport* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> Bill Russell as told to William McSweeney, *Go Up for Glory* (New York: Berkley Medalion Books, 1966), 13-23; Bill Russell and Taylor Branch, *Second Wind: Memoirs of an Opinionated Man* (New York: Random

House, 1979), 60-81; William Johnson, "Triumph in Obscurity," *Sports Illustrated* (April 22, 1968): 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Foghorn*, September 19, 1952; *The Don*, 1953.

<sup>5</sup> Johnson, "Triumph in Obscurity," 74; Ed Linn, "Bill Russell's Private World," *Sport* (February 1963): 65; Russell, *Second Wind*, 81-82; Bill Russell with Alan Hilburg and David Falkner, *Russell Rules: 11 Lessons on Leadership from the Twentieth Century's Greatest Winner* (New York: New American Library, 2001), 115-19; William Ladsen, "The Middlemen Talk Hoops," *Sporting News* (March 1, 1999): 12.

<sup>6</sup> K. C. Jones with Jack Warner, *Rebound* (Boston: Quinlan Press, 1986), 41-52; Tom Nelson, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; Mike Preaseau, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; Russell, *Go Up for Glory*, 24-26; Russell, *Second Wind*, 82-85.

<sup>7</sup> Ocania Chalk, *Black College Sport* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1976), 130-33; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1979; Kristine Setting Clark, *Undefeated, Untied, and Uninvited: A Documentary of the 1951 University of San Francisco Football Team* (Irvine, CA: Griffin, 2002); Kathryn Jay, *More Than Just a Game: Sports in American Life Since 1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 36-37; *Foghorn*, March 11, 1949, March 25, 1949, December 3, 1954, January 7, 1955, March 18, 1956; 1949 NIT Program, "Basketball Programs" Folder, USF Archives.

<sup>8</sup> Johnson, "Triumph in Obscurity," 68-71; *Foghorn*, December 3, 1954, December 2, 1955; Mike Farmer, interview with the author, March 9, 2005; Phil Woolpert, "Scene Behind the Scene on Dons," *USF Alumnus* (December 1955): 12; Tom Nelson, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; Bruce Lee, "Unstoppable San Francisco," *Sport* (April 1964): 38-39.

<sup>9</sup> Johnson, "Triumph in Obscurity," 71-72; Neil D. Isaacs, *All the Moves: A History of College Basketball* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1975), 191-92; Othello Harris, "Historical Analysis of Racism and Critical Events," in Dana Brooks and Ronald Althouse, eds., *Racism in College Athletics: The African American Athlete's Experience*, 2nd ed. (Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology, 2000), 40; Chalk, *Black College Sport*, 130-33; John F. X. Connolly, *The University of San Francisco: A Credo—And a Commitment to Excellence* (New York:

Newcomen Society in North America, 1960); *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1979. On integration of college basketball in this era see also Tom Graham and Rachel Graham Cody, *Getting Open: The Unknown Story of Bill Garrett and the Integration of College Basketball* (New York: Atria Books, 2006), 89-190.

<sup>10</sup> The AAU (Amateur Athletic Union) was a prominent governing board for amateur athletics. *The Don*, 1953; *Foghorn*, October 31, 1952, March 6, 1953, March 13, 1953, March 20, 1953, April 17, 1953, April 23, 1954.

<sup>11</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 1, 1953, December 2, 1953; Lee, "Unstoppable San Francisco," 39; Isaacs, *All the Moves*, 192.

<sup>12</sup> Lee, "Unstoppable San Francisco," 39; Jones, *Rebound*, 53-54; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 8, 1953, January 14, 1954, January 15, 1954, January 16, 1954; *Foghorn*, December 11, 1953, January 8, 1954; *The Don*, 1954, 1955.

<sup>13</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 15, 1954; *Foghorn*, March 5, 1954; *The Don*, 1954; *Los Angeles Times*, December 15, 1954; Hal Perry, telephone interview with the author, April 13, 2007; Russell, *Russell Rules*, 41-43, 57-58.

<sup>14</sup> Johnson, "Triumph in Obscurity," 74; Anderson, "In Their Own Style," 100; Russell, *Second Wind*, 119-21.

<sup>15</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, December 21, 1954; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 15, 1954; *Foghorn*, December 10, 1954; *Los Angeles Daily News*, December 15, 1954. Blocked shots were not kept as an official statistic in the 1950s.

<sup>16</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 30, 1954, January 13, 1955; *Foghorn*, December 3, 1954; *Hayward Review*, March 22, 1955; Roger Kahn, "Preview: Great Season, Greater Star," *Sports Illustrated* (December 13, 1954): 20-21. West Coast teams had achieved prominence before. Besides USF's NIT championship in 1949, Oregon won the NCAA title in 1939 and Stanford won it in 1942.

<sup>17</sup> Isaacs, *All the Moves*, 192-93; *Foghorn*, December 2, 1955; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 12, 1954; "Celtics Rate Russell Better Than Ever," *Boston Traveler*, undated, Bill Russell File, Basketball Hall of Fame, Springfield, MA; *New York Times*, December 13, 1956; *Los Angeles Daily News*, December 15, 1954.

<sup>18</sup> *USF Alumnus*, Souvenir Edition (April 1955); *Austin American-Statesman*, April 1,



2005; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 11, 1956; *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1973; Foghorn, March 6, 1956; Hal Perry, telephone interview with the author, April 13, 2007.

<sup>19</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 19, 1954.

<sup>20</sup> See Lars Andersen and Chad Millman, *Pickup Artists: Street Basketball in America* (New York: Verso, 1998), 28–29, 61–64; Nelson George, *Elevating the Game: Black Men and Basketball* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), xiii–xxi.

<sup>21</sup> *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 6, 2005. On San Francisco race relations see Albert S. Broussard, *Black San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900–1954* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); Scott Harvey Tang, “Pushing at the Golden Gate: Race Relations and Racial Politics in San Francisco, 1940–1955” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2002).

<sup>22</sup> *San Jose Mercury News*, March 31, 2005; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1979; Steve Balchios, telephone interview with the author, July 12, 2006; Warren Baxter, telephone interview with the author, July 12, 2006; Tom Nelson, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; Lee, “Unstoppable San Francisco,” 85.

<sup>23</sup> *Austin American-Statesman*, April 1, 2005; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 7, 2005; Jones, *Rebound*, 55–56; *San Jose Mercury News*, March 31, 2005; Isaacs, *All the Moves*, 193; *San Francisco Examiner*, December 24, 1954; uncited article in USF Scrapbook, University of San Francisco Archives; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 22, 1954, December 23, 1954, January 4, 1955.

<sup>24</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 4, 1955, January 6, 1955; *The Don*, 1956; *USF Alumnus*, Souvenir Edition (April 1955); Lee, “Unstoppable San Francisco,” 85.

<sup>25</sup> Foghorn, January 7, 1955; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 30, 1954, January 5, 1955, January 6, 1955, January 11, 1955, January 13, 1955, January 15, 1955, January 7, 1955, January 18, 1955, January 25, 1955, January 26, 1955, January 30, 1955, February 1, 1955; *San Francisco Examiner*, January 1, 1955, January 29, 1955, January 31, 1955; *Oakland Tribune*, February 1, 1955; *Sacramento Bee*, February 1, 1955.

<sup>6</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 19, 1954, January 13, 1955, February 1, 1955; *Bakersfield Californian*, January 31, 1955.

<sup>27</sup> Nat Holman, *Holman on Basketball* (New York: Crown, 1950), 76–77; *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 3, 1955, February 28, 1955; *San Francisco Examiner*, January 31, 1955; *Sporting News*, January 19, 1955.

<sup>28</sup> *The Don*, 1955; *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 28, 1955, March 1, 1955, March 3, 1955, March 8, 1955, March 11, 1955; *Los Angeles Times*, March 1, 1955, March 3, 1955, March 11, 1955.

<sup>29</sup> Russell, *Go Up for Glory*, 32–33; Johnson, “Triumph in Obscurity,” 74.

<sup>30</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1955, February 21, 1955, March 7, 1955, March 9, 1955; Ken Rappoport, *The Classic: The History of the NCAA Basketball Championship* (Mission, KS: National Collegiate Athletic Association, 1979), 102; *USF Alumnus*, Souvenir Edition (April 1955).

<sup>31</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 11, 1955, March 12, 1955; *USF Alumnus*, Souvenir Edition (April 1955); Rappoport, *The Classic*, 102; Johnson, “Triumph in Obscurity,” 77; Lee, “Unstoppable San Francisco,” 85–86.

<sup>32</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 12, 1955, March 13, 1955, March 14, 1955; *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1955; Anderson, “In Their Own Style,” 98; Lee, “Unstoppable San Francisco,” 86; *USF Alumnus*, Souvenir Edition (April 1955); Rappoport, *The Classic*, 103–4.

<sup>33</sup> 1955 NCAA Final Program, 1955–56 Dons Basketball Folder, USF Archives; Lee, “Unstoppable San Francisco,” 86; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 15, 1955, March 17, 1955, March 18, 1955; *USF Alumnus*, Souvenir Edition (April 1955).

<sup>34</sup> Milton Gross, “In Philadelphia Nearly Everybody Likes Gola,” *Sports Illustrated* (December 27, 1954): 30, 62–63; Marty Glickman, “All-America Basketball Preview,” *Sport* (January 1955): 12–15, 91; *Sporting News*, February 2, 1955; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 29, 1954, February 1, 1955, February 2, 1955; Peter C. Bjarkman, *The Biographical History of Basketball* (Lincolnwood, IL: Masters Press, 2000), 24–25, 135–38; *Kansas City Star*, March 19, 1955.

<sup>35</sup> Rappoport, *The Classic*, 98, 104; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 20, 1955, March 21, 1955, March 22, 1955; *Los Angeles Times*, March 22, 1955.

<sup>36</sup> Lee, “Unstoppable San Francisco,” 86; *San Francisco Examiner*, March 21, 1955, March 22, 1955; Foghorn, March 25, 1955; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 23, 1955; *New York Times*, March 23, 1955.

<sup>37</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 1955; *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1955; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 23, 1955, April 7, 1955.

<sup>38</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1955; *Sporting News*, December 7, 1955, December 14, 1955; Foghorn, April 14, 1955, December 2, 1955, January 13, 1956; Marty Glickman, “All-America Basketball Preview,” *Sport* (January 1956): 12–13, 64–65. On Boldt see *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 12, 1956. On Farner see *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 13, 1956.

<sup>39</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 2, 1955, December 4, 1955, December 7, 1955; *Sporting News*, December 14, 1955; Foghorn, December 9, 1955; Roy Terrell, “Basketball Bounces In,” *Sports Illustrated* (December 12, 1955): 24; Roy Terrell, “Basketball,” *Sports Illustrated* (December 19, 1955): 44.

<sup>40</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 17, 1955, December 18, 1955; *Washington Post and Times Herald*, December 20, 1955.

<sup>41</sup> Merv Harris, *The Lonely Heroes: Professional Basketball's Great Centers* (New York: Viking Press, 1975), 23. On Mikan see George Mikan as told to Bill Carlson, *Mr. Basketball: George Mikan's Own Story* (New York: Greenberg, 1951); George L. Mikan and Joseph Oberle, *Unstoppable: The Story of George Mikan, the First NBA Superstar* (Indianapolis: Masters Press, 1997).

<sup>42</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 21, 1955.

<sup>43</sup> Warren Baxter, telephone interview with the author, July 12, 2006; Tom Nelson, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006.

<sup>44</sup> Charles H. Martin, “Integrating New Year's Day: The Racial Politics of College Bowl Games in the American South,” in Patrick B. Miller, ed., *The Sporting World of the Modern South* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 175–99; Charles H. Martin, “Jim Crow in the Gymnasium: The Integration of College Basketball in the American South,” in Patrick B. Miller and David K. Wiggins, eds., *Sport and the Color Line: Black Athletes and Race Relations in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 233–39; Adolph H. Grundman, “The Image of Intercollegiate Sports and the Civil Rights Movement: An Historian's View,” *Arena Review* 3, no. 3 (1979): 17–24; Jay, *More Than Just a Game*, 74. The Supreme Court ruled Louisiana's law unconstitutional in 1959, but the Sugar Bowl did not include another black player until 1965.

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<sup>45</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 21, 1955, December 23, 1955; *Chicago Defender*, December 31, 1955; Warren Baxter, telephone interview with the author, July 12, 2006.

<sup>46</sup> *Sacramento Bee*, March 20, 2006; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 21, 1955, April 3, 2005; Russell, *Go Up for Glory*, 163; Johnson, "Triumph in Obscurity," 74.

<sup>47</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 23, 1955, December 24, 1955, April 4, 2005; Johnson, "Triumph in Obscurity," 74; Tom Nelson, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; Mike Farmer, interview with the author, March 9, 2005.

<sup>48</sup> Roy Terrell, "The Tournaments and the Man Who," *Sports Illustrated* (January 9, 1956): 38; Charles Rosen, *God, Man and Basketball Jones: The Thinking Fan's Guide to Professional Basketball* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979), 62; *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, December 22, 1955; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 24, 1955, December 26, 1955; *Foghorn*, April 14, 1955.

<sup>49</sup> *New York Times*, December 25, 1955; *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 27, 1955, December 28, 1955, January 8, 1956; Al Hirshberg, *Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1963), 68; Terrell, "The Tournaments and the Man Who," 40; *New York Times*, December 28, 1955; *Foghorn*, January 13, 1956.

<sup>50</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 29, 1955, January 4, 1956; Red Holzman with Leonard Lewin, *A View from the Bench* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), 37–38; *New York Times*, December 29, 1955; Tommy Heinsohn with Leonard Lewin, *Heinsohn, Don't You Ever Smile?: The Life and Times of Tommy Heinsohn and the Boston Celtics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1976), 76–77; Tommy Heinsohn and Joe Fitzgerald, *Give 'Em the Hook* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1988), 26–29; Russell, *Russell Rules*, 78–79; *Los Angeles Times*, December 29, 1955; *Foghorn*, January 13, 1956.

<sup>51</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 31, 1955; *New York Times*, December 31, 1955; John Wooden and Bill Sharman with Bob Seizer, *The Wooden-Sharman Method: A Guide to Winning Basketball* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1975), 116–17; *Foghorn*, January 13, 1956.

<sup>52</sup> *Chicago American*, December 31, 1955.

<sup>53</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 7, 1956, January 11, 1956, January 14, 1956; *New York Times*, January 14, 1956.

<sup>54</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1973; "Best Big Man on View," *Life* (January 16, 1956): 12–14; "Bill Russell—The Antenna With Arms," *Look* (January 10, 1956): 66–68; "Basketball's Leaning Tower," *Ebony* (April 1956): 50–51; "Along Came Bill," *Time* (January 2, 1956): 36–37; *New York Times*, December 28, 1956; *Chicago Tribune*, March 21, 1956; *Chicago Defender*, January 7, 1956, January 14, 1956, March 3, 1956, March 26, 1956, April 7, 1956; *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 26, 1955, February 4, 1956, March 3, 1956, March 10, 1956; *New York Amsterdam News*, March 10, 1956; *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 6, 1956; Lee, "Unstoppable San Francisco," 86.

<sup>55</sup> Tom Nelson, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; Steve Balchios, telephone interview with the author, July 12, 2006; Mike Preaseau, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1973.

<sup>56</sup> Mike Preaseau, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1973; Tom Nelson, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; Mike Farmer, interview with the author, March 9, 2005.

<sup>57</sup> "Dons on Defense," *Time* (February 14, 1955): 50–51; "The Big Surprise of 1955," *Sports Illustrated* (March 28, 1955): 17–19; *Richmond Independent*, February 2, 1955; *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 10, 1955; Tom Nelson, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; Steve Balchios, telephone interview with the author, July 12, 2006; Mike Preaseau, telephone interview with the author, July 11, 2006; Herb Michelson, "Eagles and Priests," *View* (Fall 1982): 10; Warren Baxter, telephone interview with the author, July 12, 2006. For Russell's more controversial interviews and articles as a professional athlete, see Gilbert Rogin, "We Are Grown Men Playing a Child's Game," *Sports Illustrated* (November 18, 1963): 74–90; Edward Linn, "I Owe the Public Nothing," *Saturday Evening Post* (January 18, 1964): 60–63; Bill Russell with Tex Maule, "I Am Not Worried About Ali," *Sports Illustrated* (June 19, 1967): 18–21; William F. Russell, "I'm Not Involved Anymore," *Sports Illustrated* (August 4, 1969): 18–19; William F. Russell, "Success Is a Journey," *Sports Illustrated* (June 8, 1970): 81–93. See also his first autobiography, *Go Up for Glory*.

<sup>58</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 10, 1955; *Chicago Defender*, March 12, 1955; *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 5, 1955, April 2, 1955.

<sup>59</sup> "Dons on Defense," 51; "The Big Surprise of 1955," 19; Frank Deford, "The Ring Leader," *Sports Illustrated* (May 10, 1999): 110.

<sup>60</sup> *New York Times*, January 29, 1956; Rapoport, *The Classic*, 105–6; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 29, 1956.

<sup>61</sup> Bill Russell with Rob Ottum, "The Psych . . . And My Other Tricks," *Sports Illustrated* (October 25, 1965): 34; *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 1, 1956, February 3, 1956, February 4, 1956, February 7, 1956, February 8, 1956, February 11, 1956, February 15, 1956, February 18, 1956, February 25, 1956, March 3, 1956, March 30, 1956; Anderson, "In Their Own Style," 98; *New York Times*, March 7, 1956; Roy Terrell, "Black Saturday," *Sports Illustrated* (March 5, 1956): 54–55.

<sup>62</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 13, 1956, March 11, 1956, March 28, 1956.

<sup>63</sup> *USF Alumnus*, Souvenir Edition (April 1955); *The Don*, 1956; *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 8, 1956, March 2, 1956, March 7, 1956, March 8, 1956, March 9, 1956, March 16, 1956; *Foghorn*, February 17, 1956; *New York Times*, March 7, 1956.

<sup>64</sup> *Foghorn*, November 4, 1955, January 13, 1955, March 6, 1956, March 9, 1956; *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 7, 1956, February 24, 1956, March 2, 1956, March 6, 1956, March 7, 1956, March 8, 1956; Mike Farmer, interview with the author, March 9, 2005.

<sup>65</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 14, 1956, March 16, 1956; *Foghorn*, March 9, 1956, March 20, 1956.

<sup>66</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 17, 1956; *Foghorn*, March 20, 1956.

<sup>67</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 18, 1956; *Foghorn*, March 20, 1956; Roy Terrell, "NCAA Semifinals," *Sports Illustrated* (March 26, 1956): 47.

<sup>68</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 19, 1956, March 20, 1956, March 23, 1956; *New York Times*, March 19, 1956; *San Francisco Examiner*, March 23, 1956; *Los Angeles Times*, March 23, 1956; Roy Terrell, "Victory No. 55: End of an Era," *Sports Illustrated* (April 2, 1956): 42.

<sup>69</sup> "Easy Does It and Dons Do It," *Life* (April 2, 1956): 93–94; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 24, 1956; Lee, "Unstoppable San Francisco," 87.

<sup>70</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 24, 1956; Terrell, "Victory No. 55: End of an Era," 42. On Carl Cain see *Des Moines Register*, April 6, 1980.



<sup>71</sup> Warren Baxter, telephone interview with the author, July 12, 2006; *Los Angeles Times*, March 24, 1956; *New York Times*, March 24, 1956; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 24, 1956; Terrell, "Victory No. 55: End of an Era," 43. A video recording of the 1956 NCAA Final is available in Special Collections at the University of San Francisco.

<sup>72</sup> *New York Times*, March 18, 1955, March 22, 1955, March 26, 1956; *Los Angeles Times*, March 24, 1956, March 25, 1956; *Foghorn*, September 30, 1955, December 9, 1955.

<sup>73</sup> Russell, *Go Up for Glory*, 34; *Los Angeles Times*, March 24, 1956; Lee, "Unstoppable San Francisco," 87; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 25, 1956, March 26, 1956; *New York Times*, March 30, 1956.

<sup>74</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 2007; Russell, *Go Up for Glory*, 38–39; Chancellor John LoSchiavo, telephone interview with the author, April 13, 2007.

<sup>75</sup> On new attitudes about black sport in the 1960s see Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (New York: The Free Press, 1970; orig. 1969); Jack Olsen, *The Black Athlete: A Shameful Story* (New York: Time-Life Books, 1968); Amy Bass, *Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Douglas Hartmann, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Thomas Hauser, *Muhammad Ali: His Life and Times* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1991); Elliott J. Gorn, ed., *Muhammad Ali: The People's Champ* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); David Remnick, *King of the World* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998); David W. Zang, *SportsWars: Athletes in the Age of Aquarius* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2001).

<sup>76</sup> Martin, "Jim Crow in the Gymnasium," 237. The USF winning streak would reach sixty games before getting snapped in December 1956. The record survived until UCLA broke it in 1973.

<sup>77</sup> *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 3, 1956, March 4, 1956, March 22, 1956, March 23, 1956, January 13, 1956, March 26, 1956, March 28, 1956, December 6, 1956; *San Francisco Examiner*, March 3, 1955; *USF Alumnus*, Souvenir Edition (April 1955); *Foghorn*, February 24, 1956.

# IN A CLIMATE LIKE OURS: THE CALIFORNIA CAMPUSES OF ALLISON & ALLISON, BY SALLY SIMS STOKES, PP 26–65

This article derives from an earlier and long-standing research and writing initiative in partnership with Susan L. Richards, under the expert guidance of Tony P. Wrenn. The author also thanks the National Endowment for the Humanities, Ohio State University, and the University of Maryland for financial support and Richard Allison and Isabella Allison Britton for the loan of family documents, and dedicates this study to the memories of Virginia Allison Sandlass and Chaffey High School's devoted champion, Jack Lundquist.

Sources for caption text and archival images: *American Architect* 106, no. 2015 (August 1914); *The Architect and Engineer* 103 (October 1930); *The Architect and Engineer of California* 42, no. 3 (September 1915); *The Building Review* 23 (February 1923); Collection of Virginia Allison Sandlass; John J. Donovan, *School Architecture: Principles and Practices* (New York: Macmillan, 1921); *School Architecture and School Improvement from the Twenty-third Biennial Report* (Sacramento, CA: Sacramento, CA: [Office of the] Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1909); *School Architecture in California* (Sacramento, CA: [Office of the] Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1914); *The School Review* 21 (December 1913); National Archives and Records Administration; Santa Monica Public Library; *School and Society* 33 (January 1931); Yearbook of Clarion State Normal School, 1912; UCLA University Archives, University of California, Los Angeles; U.S. Geological Survey Earthquake Hazard Program.

<sup>1</sup> Virginia Allison Sandlass (niece of James Edward and David Clark Allison) to author, September 3, 1985; Raymond Ziegler, interview with the author, July 29, 1985; typewritten, selective chronology of J. E. Allison's diary, hereafter cited as *Diary*, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass. The relevant travel is noted at April 1, 1903, and September 1, 1909. James Edward Allison was known professionally as J. E. and within his family as Ed. David Clark Allison's name appears in some sources as David C. and D. C. Both colleagues and family sometimes referred to him as Dave.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Guy Wilson, *The AIA Gold Medal* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984), 55; William Alexander McClung, *Landscapes of Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 74,

110, 112; J. E. Allison, "California School Houses," in *Modern School Houses, Part II, Illustrating and Describing Recent Examples of School House Design Executed in the United States* (New York: The American Architect, 1915), 74. Allison's emphasis on "American . . . rather than . . . Spanish or Mexican or Italian" reflects local unease between Anglo and Mexican Californians and the status of U.S. international relations.

<sup>3</sup> Exhibition curated by Marshall Duell. "Personalities and Comment," *California Graphic* 3, no. 25 (July 24, 1926): 3, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 213.

<sup>5</sup> *School Architecture in California* (Sacramento, CA: [Office of the] Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1914), 1, 5 (emphasis added). See Judith Rosenberg Raftery's "Progressivism Moves into the Schools" in her *Land of Fair Promise: Politics and Reform in Los Angeles Schools, 1885–1941* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 14–46; "J. E. Allison, Architect, No. 708 Penn Avenue," *Pittsburgh To-Day* (1896): n. p.

<sup>6</sup> Allison, "California School Houses," 72.

<sup>7</sup> See KD Kurutz and Gary Kurutz, *California Calls You: The Art of Promoting the Golden State, 1870–1940* (Sausalito, CA: Windgate Press, 2000); Sheri Bernstein, "Selling California, 1900–1920," in Stephanie Barron et al., *Made in California: Art, Image and Identity 1900–1920* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art/University of California Press, 2000), 66–101; Marshall Duell, "The California Building of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893" (unpublished ms., 1986); Richard Longstreth, *On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Architectural History Foundation/MIT Press, 1983), 263–66; *Diary*, September 12, 1904; Mark Bennett, *History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Saint Louis: Universal Exposition Publishing Company, 1905), 446.

<sup>8</sup> Stats. 1903, c. 270, 388 California Code. See "Draining the River Dry" in Blake Gumprecht, *The Los Angeles River: Its Life, Death, and Possible Rebirth* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 83–129; Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams*, 1–61, especially 59.

<sup>9</sup> Edwin O. Palmer, *History of Hollywood* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1938, reprint 1978), 190–92; Starr, *Material Dreams*, 213; Robert Winter and Alexander

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Vertikoff, *The Architecture of Entertainment: L.A. in the Twenties* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2006), 12.

<sup>10</sup> *Diary*, April 1, 1892; also see *National Cyclopedic of American Biography* 45: 489; "History and Organization of Allison and Allison, Architects," typescript, Los Angeles, 1940; J. E. Allison biographical data sheet, Baldwin Memorial Archive, American Institute of Architects, Washington, D.C.

<sup>11</sup> Dankmar Adler, "The Chicago Auditorium," *Architectural Record* 1 (April–June 1892): 415–34; Montgomery Schuyler, "The Romanesque Revival in America," *Architectural Record* 1 (October–December 1891): 171–98; J. E. Allison biographical data sheet; "History and Organization," 10.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan: His Life and Work* (New York: Viking, 1986), 129–30, 276; Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record* 23 (1908): 156; James F. O'Gorman, *H. H. Richardson: Architectural Forms for an American Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 133–42; Grant Carpenter Manson, *Frank Lloyd Wright to 1910: The First Golden Age* (New York: Reinhold, 1958), 21–34; Walter C. Kidney, *Pittsburgh's Landmark Architecture: The Historic Buildings of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, 1997), 83, 69–88; Ing. Enrico Verdozzi, "Brick in Modern Italy," in G. C. Mars, ed., *Brickwork in Italy: A Brief Review from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chicago: American Face Brick Association, 1925), 246–87. See Thomas Cramer Hopkins, *Clays and Clay Industries of Pennsylvania, I: Clays of Western Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA: W. S. Ray, 1898).

<sup>13</sup> *Diary*, June 1, 1892; Milton M. Allison, in "Pioneers John and Martha McDonald: An Address at a John McDonald Family Reunion," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 36 (1953): 49, incorrectly identifies the Noblestown church as his cousin J. E. Allison's first commission; First Presbyterian Church, *History of the First Presbyterian Church, Vandergrift, Pa., Prepared for the Fiftieth Anniversary Homecoming, 1897–1947* (Vandergrift, PA: The Church, 1947); *The Alpha of Methodism in Vandergrift, Penn.*, May 1899; Ida Tarbell, *New Ideals in Business: An Account of Their Practice and Their Effects upon Men and Profits* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), 146–55; "Vandergrift, Pa., A New Industrial Town," *American Architect and Building News* 8, no. 1075 (1896): 2. If Olmsted himself actually designed Vander-

grift, as *The American Architect* reported, it was one of this distinguished landscape architect's last projects. The Library of Congress classifies the job file (204) under "Olmsted Associates." Eugene Iagnemma to author, July 27, 1986; *National Cyclopedic* 45:489. The Oakdale School is noted in "Synopsis of Building News," *Inland Architect and News Record* 23 (July 1894): 66.

<sup>14</sup> J. E. Allison, Application for Membership, 1899, Record Group (RG) 803, Membership Applications, Book 1, 1890–1898 (sic); RG 801 SR 3, Box 3, "Chapters AIA August 1901–December 31, 1904," folder P, American Institute of Architects Library and Archives, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. L. C. Corbett, "Our New Church," *Woman's Edition of the New Dominion*, Morgantown, W. Va. 30 (December 30, 1896): 38–39; specifications for the church by J. E. Allison filed at First Presbyterian Church, Morgantown, W. Va.; "J. E. Allison," *Pittsburgh To-Day*.

<sup>15</sup> Sandlass to author, September 3, 1985; George Boggs Allison, "David Clark Allison," unpublished biographical sketch, 1970, 1, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass.

<sup>16</sup> John Harbeson, "Paul Cret and Architectural Competitions," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 25 (December 1966): 305; Sandlass to author, September 3, 1985; biographical sketch of David Clark Allison in "History and Organization of Allison and Allison"; George B. Allison, "David Clark Allison"; "Allison, David Clark, '04," Alumni Records, University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia; *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects* 1 (New York: Free Press, 1982), 476–77; "David C. Allison," in William A. Spalding, *History of Los Angeles City and County California: Biographical Vol. II* (Los Angeles: J. R. Finnell & Sons, 1931), 177; "Eugène Duquesne Coming to Harvard," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* 23 (January 18, 1911): 224–25, University Archives, Harvard University Library; Robert Judson Clark, "Los Angeles Transfer: Romanticism and Integration, 1880–1930," in Robert Judson Clark and Thomas S. Hines, *Los Angeles Transfer: Architecture in Southern California, 1880–1980: papers read at a Clark Library Seminar, 25 April 1981 in the bicentennial year of the city of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, Los Angeles, 1983), 31; "The Atelier Allison," *Architect and Engineer* 45 (1916): 111; "University Architectural Courses," *Architect and Engineer* 74 (July 1923): 129.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts," in Arthur Drexler, ed., *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 61–109; F. H. Bosworth, Jr., and Roy Childs Jones, *A Study of Architectural Schools* (New York: Scribner/Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, 1932), 7, 9; Twombly, *Louis Sullivan*, 184.

<sup>18</sup> S. B. Linhart (Secretary, Western University of Pennsylvania) to Allison & Allison, April 14, 1908, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass; Adin Benedict Lacey, comp. & ed., *American Competitions, Vol. II* (n.p.: T-Square Club, 1908), plates 48, 49.

<sup>19</sup> Sandlass to author, September 3, 1985; Raymond Ziegler, interview with the author, July 29, 1985; *Diary*, April 1, 1903.

<sup>20</sup> Paul V. Turner, "The Collaborative Design of Stanford University," in Paul V. Turner, Marcia E. Vetrocq, and Karen J. Weitze, *The Founders and the Architects: The Design of Stanford University* (Stanford, CA: Department of Art, Stanford University, 1976), 28–30, as quoted in Karen J. Weitze, *California's Mission Revival* (Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1984), 21–22. See also Weitze's essay, "Stanford and the California Missions," in Turner et al., *Founders*, 69–79, and Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 316–18.

<sup>21</sup> Weitze, *California's Mission Revival*, 96–103, 114; William C. Hays, "One-Story and Open-Air Schoolhouses in California," *Architectural Forum* 27 (1917): 3–12, 57–65; William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Longstreth, *On the Edge*, 262.

<sup>22</sup> "Melody Entrances Gathering of Guests in Garlanded Hall of Hollywood Home," *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 31, 1904, 11; "Agreement between Allison & Allison, Architects, Pittsburgh, and Clarion State Normal School of Clarion, Pennsylvania, for Girls' Dormitory Building [Navarre, now Becht Hall], August 7, 1908," University Archives, Carlson Library, Clarion University, Clarion, PA.

<sup>23</sup> Weitze, *California's Mission Revival*, 114. See Allison & Allison, "Design for a Suburban Home," "Home of Mr. R. T. Donaldson, Crafton, Pa.," and "Home of David Roney" in *Pittsburgh Builder* 26 (February 1909) and



"Front Elevation of a City Home," *Pittsburgh Builder* 27 (June 1909), all on unnumbered plates; Montgomery Schuyler, "The Building of Pittsburgh," *Architectural Record* 30 (1911): 204–82; Kim E. Wallace, *Brickyard Towns: A History of Refractories Industry Communities in South-Central Pennsylvania* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record, 1993). In a further burst of eclectic pickpocketing, David Allison ensured that the gables mimicked the faintly baroque roofline contours of Hayden Hall, the classroom building in which Paul Cret held his atelier during Allison's student days in Philadelphia.

<sup>24</sup> *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects* II: 420–21; Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles: New Age Publishing Company, 1956), 302. Hornbostel's plan was never realized.

<sup>25</sup> *Diary*, June 3, 1905, February 10, 1906, May 22, 1910, August 14, 1910.

<sup>26</sup> *The American Architect* 98 (July 13, 1910): 3; *Diary*, June 10 and November 1, 1910.

<sup>27</sup> *Diary*, November 1, 1910; John L. Wiley, *History of Monrovia* (Pasadena, CA: Star-News Press, 1927), 255; Charles F. Davis and Ellavera Nelson Davis, eds., *Monrovia-Duarte Community Book* (Monrovia, CA: Arthur H. Cawston, 1957), 56–61. The Monrovia High School appeared in *The American Architect* 106 (July 15, 1914) over four unnumbered plates following page 40, in John Donovan, *School Architecture, Principles and Practices* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 673–75, and in *Modern School Houses, Part II* (New York: The American Architect, 1915), plates 31–34.

<sup>28</sup> Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915*, 365–414; Herbert Croly, "The New University of California," *Architectural Record* 23 (1908): 282–85, 291.

<sup>29</sup> "Three Schools Designed by Allison & Allison, Architects," *The American Architect* 106, Part I (August 5, 1914): unnumbered plates; "High School, Van Nuys, California, Allison & Allison, Architects," *The American Architect* 110, Part II (November 15, 1916): unnumbered plates; James O. Betelle to J. E. Allison, April 22, 1918, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass.

<sup>30</sup> Clark, "Los Angeles Transfer," 37; Myron Hunt, "The Work of Messrs. Allison and Allison," *Architect and Engineer* 42 (Septem-

ber 1915): 45. How the Allisons assisted in "helping" with the manufacture of brick is not clear. The Simons Brick Company, which led the market, was long established by the time the Allisons came to Los Angeles. Simons did use Allison buildings in its advertisements. See *Pacific Coast Architect* 25 (June 1924): 28; Normand S. Patton, "Present Day Tendencies in School Architecture," *Architect and Engineer* 38 (1914): 79.

<sup>31</sup> J. E. Allison to Amy Boggs Allison, December 15, 1945, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass; J. E. Allison, "California School Houses," 72.

<sup>32</sup> Clark, "Los Angeles Transfer," 37; "The New Museum Buildings," *Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania* 2 (June 1899): 69–73; Huger Elliott, "Architecture in Philadelphia and a Coming Chance," *Architectural Record* 23 (1908): 305; *Brickbuilder* 15 (1906): 134–38, 179–82 and 16 (1907): 219–25; "Novel Plan for Group of High School Buildings," *Architect and Engineer* 22 (October 1910): 37. J. E. Allison focused upon the group plan in his 1915 essay, "California School Houses" (see note 2).

<sup>33</sup> "Group Plan Is Popular Type in Present Day School Design," *Architect and Engineer* 50 (September 1917): 55–56; Peter B. Wight, "Two Schools in California, Allison & Allison, Architects," *Building Review* 23 (1923): 27–29; Ralph Adams Cram, "The Work of Messrs. Frank Miles Day & Brother," *Architectural Record* 15 (May 1904): 411, 417.

<sup>34</sup> George L. Schreiber, "The Architectural Beauties of the New Building," *The SaMoHi, New Building Number* (March 1913): 12–13, 22. Schreiber mistakenly ascribes the inspiration for the high school to the fine arts building at Penn, rather than to the museum; the student commentary, "The New Building," is on the editorial page.

<sup>35</sup> Hunt, "The Work of Messrs. Allison & Allison," 61.

<sup>36</sup> Allison & Allison (by J. E. Allison) to Jesse F. Millspaugh, April 24, 1911, Records of the Chancellor's Office, University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Allison maintained a file of letters of reference from past clients including the Vandergrift, Pennsylvania, public schools (October 20, 1897). In later years, Millspaugh himself would contribute to this file. Millspaugh to Everett M. Perry (librarian, Los Angeles City Library), May 15, 1914, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass.

<sup>37</sup> *Diary*, September 20, 1911; "Eliminates Architect," unattributed newspaper clipping, April 4, 1912, J. E. Allison's notebook, 58, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass; "Local Architects Named to Plan State Buildings; Architects Allison & Allison Will Design Proposed Armory and Normal School," *Los Angeles Examiner*, April 14, 1912, J. E. Allison's notebook, 58.

<sup>38</sup> "Three Schools Designed by Allison & Allison," unnumbered plates; Erwin G. Gudde, *California Place Names* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), 391; *Year Book*, Los Angeles Architectural Club, *Third Exhibition, Under the Auspices of the Architectural League of the Pacific Coast*, Los Angeles, February 23–March 15, 1912, passim, no pagination; "Plans for Normal School Are Ready; Board of Trustees Is to Act on Them Today; Buildings Are to Cost \$600,000," *Los Angeles Examiner*, August 27, 1912, J. E. Allison's notebook, 58.

<sup>39</sup> Turner, *Campus*, 196; "State Normal School, Los Angeles, Cal., Messrs. Allison & Allison, Architects," *The American Architect* 106, no. 2012 (July 15, 1914): unnumbered plates; Wight, "Two Schools," 29.

<sup>40</sup> Photographs by George Buzby, Jr., of two of the medallions by John Ross, *Greek youth with a drawing of a Doric temple* (negative no. 139179:1) and *Assyrian Winged, Bird-headed Genie with Bucket and Cone* (negative no. 139079:5), in the University of Pennsylvania Museum photo collection.

<sup>41</sup> "History and Organization," 11; *Year Book*, Los Angeles Architectural Club, 1912, n.p.

<sup>42</sup> John C. Austin, "Architectural Competitions in Southern California," *Architect and Engineer* 30 (1912): 85–86.

<sup>43</sup> "School Competition Law of 1872 Declared Void," *Architect and Engineer* 35 (1913): 100–1; "An act to repeal an act entitled 'An act to regulate the erection of public buildings and structures, approved April 1, 1872,'" Chapter 451, Statutes of California and Amendments to the Codes, 41st Session, 1915 ([Sacramento]: California State Printing Office, 1915), 744; "School Trustees Notice," unattributed news clipping, J. E. Allison's notebook, 55, crediting Allison, Austin, and their committee with having been "instrumental in devising ways and means to have [the 1872] law stricken from the statutes"; "School Board Now Explains; Gives Reasons for Selecting a Los Angeles Concern to Plan High School," *Palo Alto Times*, December 12, 1914.

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<sup>44</sup> "Architects are Chosen to Plan; Los Angeles Firm Will Design New High School and Aid Before Bond Vote," *Palo Alto Times*, December 9, 1914, 1.

<sup>45</sup> "The Palo Alto High School," *Architect and Engineer* 47 (November 1916): 107.

<sup>46</sup> "Architects are Chosen," 1; "School Trustees Defend Selection," *Palo Alto Times*, January 11, 1917; "Board Says Union School to be Built," *Palo Alto Times*, October 3, 1917.

<sup>47</sup> "Allison, J. E., Charges of Unprofessional Conduct," in Records of the Committee on Practice, 1817-1925, Southern California Chapter, American Institute of Architects Library and Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>48</sup> J. E. Allison, "Professional Ideals in the Practice of Architecture," *Architect and Engineer* 47 (December 1916): 89-90; "Allison, J. E., Charges of Unprofessional Conduct."

<sup>49</sup> "More About Palo Alto School," *Architect and Engineer* 40 (January 1915): 117; "Allison, J. E., Charges of Unprofessional Conduct."

<sup>50</sup> George Allison, "David Allison," 3; "Students Take Over New Union High School Today," *Palo Alto Times*, December 24, 1918; Irving Morrow, "The Work of Allison & Allison, Architects," *Building Review* 23 (1923): 17.

<sup>51</sup> Sidney D. Townley, "The Palo Alto Union High School," *Architect and Engineer* 56 (February 1919): 39, 40.

<sup>52</sup> Greater Whittier College, "Architect and Engineer" 49 (May 1917): 119; Charles W. Cooper, *Whittier: Independent College in California* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1967), fig. 37.

<sup>53</sup> Minutes of the Board of Regents, August 12, 1919, Office of the Regents, University of California, Berkeley; see Ernest Carroll Moore, *I Helped Make a University* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1952); Andrew Hamilton and John B. Jackson, *UCLA on the Move During Fifty Golden Years, 1919-1969* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969), 7-12; "Agreement: The Regents of the University of California with J. E. Allison and D. C. Allison, Partners Doing Business under the Firm Name and Style of Allison & Allison, Dated October [31], 1922," Records of the President of the University of California, University Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as Records of the President), folder 1932:700 CU-5, box 319.

<sup>54</sup> Report of Grounds and Buildings Committee, Minutes of the Regents of the University of California, Executive Session, June 9, 1925, Records of the President, folder 1932. The 1922 contract states that Allison & Allison were to be responsible for "the design and execution of all buildings to be built upon or in connection with the campus of the said Southern Branch. . . ." (emphasis added). A note on the 1922 Allison contract states, "Replaced by agreement with Geo. W. Kelham, dated 2/18/27."

<sup>55</sup> George B. Allison and James V. Mink, *Campus and Urban Architecture*, Oral History Program (Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California, 1974), 77, used with permission of the Oral History Program, Department of Special Collections, UCLA Research Library; Moore, *I Helped Make a University*, 95, 99-102, 125-26; Edwin Janss to Ferry K. Heath, no date, Records of the President, folder 1931:129 A-C, CU-5, box 276; Winter and Vertikoff, *Architecture of Entertainment*, 37; Regents' Committee on Grounds and Buildings, May 17, 1934; George W. Kelham to Robert G. Sproul, August 13, 1934, Records of the President, folder 1934-134 CU-5, box 356. David Allison signed a contract as supervising architect at Westwood in February 1935. D. G. MacLise to Luther Nichols, February 14, 1935, folder 1934-134 CU-5, box 384; Allison and Mink, *Campus*, 64, 66, 72-73, 77; Hamilton and Jackson, *UCLA on the Move*, 44; Minutes of the Regents' Committee on UCLA, January 8, 1937.

<sup>56</sup> Allison and Mink, *Campus*, 66, 68; Hamilton and Jackson, *UCLA on the Move*, 53; Minutes of the Regents' Committee on Grounds and Buildings, December 11, 1928; Allison and Mink, *Campus*, 104; Moore, *I Helped Make a University*, 126-27.

<sup>57</sup> Jean Gimpel, *The Cathedral Builders*, trans. Michael Russell (New York: Grove Press, 1983), 55, 56; Hamilton and Jackson, *UCLA on the Move*, 55-57. See *California of the Southland: A History of the University of California at Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: UCLA Alumni Association, 1937) and James Klain et al., *Royce Hall* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 1985).

<sup>58</sup> *California of the Southland*, 33; "Suggested Development Plan 'B,' University of California at Los Angeles, Submitted by David C. Allison, Supervising Architect, Los Angeles Campus, September 15, 1944," Committee on Southern California Schools, Colleges and Institutions, Vol. 2, 205. Office of the

Regents; J. H. Corley to Robert G. Sproul, August 10, 1944, Records of the President, file 110-L.A., 1944; Regents' Committee on Southern California Schools, Colleges and Institutions, September 21, 1945; Allison and Mink, *Campus*, 73, 78, 82.

<sup>59</sup> David Allison to J. H. Corley, December 4, 1942, Records of the President, folder 364-1942; Allison and Mink, *Campus*, 66, 79-80.

<sup>60</sup> Henry Charles Burge to Board of Regents, November 30, 1948, Records of the President, file 110-L.A., 1948; Minutes of the Regents' Committee on University of California at Los Angeles and Scripps Institute of Oceanography, January 23, 1948, Office of the Regents; Clark, "Los Angeles Transfer," 41. See also Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 365-414.

<sup>61</sup> Charles H. Cheney, "A Great City-Planning Project on the Pacific Coast," *The American City* 27 (July 1922): 47; David C. Allison, "Seven Years of Architectural Control in Palos Verdes," *Architect and Engineer* (January 1930): 53-56; Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Palos Verdes School District, July 20, 1925, September 10, 1929, and May 1, 1930; "Miraleste Notes," *Palos Verdes Bulletin* 5 (August 1929), 5; *The Palos Verdes of Today*, 1926 (promotional booklet, Palos Verdes Public Library), 16.

<sup>62</sup> *The Palos Verdes of Today*, 39; John Bakewell, Jr., "Honor Awards of the Southern California Chapter, AIA," *Architect and Engineer* 89 (April 1927): 42; "Honor Award to Malaga Cove School," *Palos Verdes Bulletin* 3 (March 1927): 1; "The Malaga Cove School," *Palos Verdes Bulletin* 4 (June 1928): 1, 4.

<sup>63</sup> David C. Allison, "Suggestions on the Decorative Uses of Concrete," *Architect and Engineer* 85 (1926): 101.

<sup>64</sup> "Californian Architecture," *Palos Verdes Bulletin* 4 (October 1928): 4.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Allison and Mink, *Campus*, 53-54; Jefferson Junior High School rendering in *Building Review* 23 (February 1923), plate 88; Harry O. Wood, *Earthquake Study in Southern California* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1935), 9; interview with Miriam Game, in Michael Brooks, "'Long, Long Ago': Recipe for a Middle School Oral History Program," *OAH Magazine of History* 11, no. 3 (Spring 1997): 35.



<sup>67</sup> Allison and Mink, *Campus*, 82–84; “2,000 at UCLA Could Perish in Quake, Study Shows,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1985; Donald M. Cleland, *A History of the Santa Monica City Schools*, typescript, Santa Monica Public Library, 1952, 108–113.

<sup>68</sup> Stanley Scott, *Policies for Seismic Safety: Elements of a State Governmental Program* (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1979), 40–42; Cleland, *History of the Santa Monica Schools*, 11; Horace Rebok to Allison & Allison, October 25, 1921, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass; contracts for Lincoln Junior High, McKinley, and John Muir Schools, Santa Monica-Malibu School District Administrative Offices, Santa Monica; *Fiscal Year Summaries*: McKinley School, 1932–36, Lathrop Junior High School, 1931–[1934]; engineers’ reports (Office of the State Architect application numbers): McKinley (E-225), Lathrop Junior High (E-451 and E-455), Willard Junior High (E-452), Herbert Hoover Elementary (E-453), Woodrow Wilson Elementary (E-454); “Elevation and Section of Attic Vents and Cornice” [blueprint], Woodrow Wilson Elementary School, Santa Ana, January 8, 1930, Allison & Allison Architects, Building Services, Santa Ana Unified School District; “Structural Safety of [Santa] A[na] School Buildings,” Santa Ana Unified and Junior College Districts, *Super Script* 6 (December 8, 1966): 1–4; “Demolition, Repairs on SA ‘Unsafe’ Schools Started,” *Orange Register*, December 29, 1966, C1; F. H. Masterson (director of Building Services, Santa Ana Unified School District) to author, December 9, 1983.

<sup>69</sup> “Murder in California,” *New Republic* 74 (March 22, 1933): 146–47; “Flimsy School Buildings,” *New Republic* 78 (March 28, 1934): 171; Ralph Flewelling, “Schools, Earthquakes and Progress,” *California Arts and Architecture* 48 (September 1935): 20; “New Policy Is Necessary in Building of Schools,” *Palo Alto Times*, February 8, 1934.

<sup>70</sup> Irving Morrow, “Recent Architecture of Allison & Allison,” *Architect and Engineer* 133 (May 1938): 19–22; David Gebhard and Robert F. Winter, *Architecture in Los Angeles* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1985), 74.

<sup>71</sup> Merton E. Hill, “Chaffey Junior College Building Program,” *Junior College Journal* 1 (June 1931): 335–39; Cecil Donald Hardesty, *Problems and Practices in Housing the Junior-College Program in California*, Southern California Education Monographs No. 3, 1933–34 Series (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1934); “Junior

Colleges,” *School and Society* 31 (1930): 529–30; C. W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings: Architecture under the Public Works Administration, 1933–1939* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1939), 135; Chaffey Committee of One Hundred, *Facts Regarding the Chaffey Auditorium*, Chaffey High School Library Historical Room; Charles Moore, *The City Observed*, Los Angeles (New York: Random House, 1984), 92–93. See Frank Jensen, “Take an Imaginary Tour of the Edifice,” *Chaffey United Press* (March 16, 1939).

<sup>72</sup> “History and Organization,” 5.

<sup>73</sup> *Diary*, April 1, 1942; “Funeral Set Today for Architect David Allison,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 24, 1962; J. E. Allison to Amy Boggs Allison, December 15, 1945, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass.

<sup>74</sup> J. E. Allison to Amy Boggs Allison, December 8, 1952, collection Virginia Allison Sandlass; *National Cyclopedica* 45:489; “Funeral Set Today.”

<sup>75</sup> David McCullough, “The Pull of the Past,” in Antoinette Lee, ed., *Past Meets Future: Saving America’s Historic Environments* (Washington, DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1992), 34.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Morrow, “Recent Architecture of Allison & Allison,” 18.

#### SIDEBAR NOTES, OPEN-AIR CLASSROOMS: RECOVERY, REVOLT, RAPPORT, PP 30–33

<sup>1</sup> Leonard P. Ayres, *Open-Air Schools* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1911), 13; Neil S. MacDonald, *Open Air Schools* (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Steward Publishers, 1918), 36; Sherman C. Kingsley, *Open Air Crusaders* (Chicago: The Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, 1913), frontispiece, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ayres, *Open-Air Schools*, 130–35 and illustrations facing pages 16, 43, 65, 130; Robert M. Legge, “The Hygiene of Schools,” in John J. Donovan, *School Architecture: Principles and Practices* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 211.

<sup>3</sup> MacDonald, *Open Air Schools*, 48; George E. Reed, “Heating and Ventilating,” in Donovan, *School Architecture*, 527; Legge, “The Hygiene of Schools,” 211–13; John R. Van Pelt, “The Architecture of Open-Air Schools,” *Architect and Engineer* 36 (February 1914): 106–7.

<sup>4</sup> *Architectural Record* 37 (January 1915): 96, cited in Martin E. Petersen, “William Templeton Johnson: San Diego Architect, 1877–1957,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 17, no. 4 (Fall 1971); John J. Donovan, “The Classroom,” in Donovan, *School Architecture*, 270, 273, 277.

<sup>5</sup> William C. Hays, “One-Story and Open-Air Schoolhouses in California,” *Architectural Forum* 37 (July 1917): 10; “One-Story and Open-Air Schoolhouses in California, Second and Concluding Paper,” *Architectural Forum* 37 (September 1917): 60.

#### SIDEBAR NOTES, DAVID ALLISON AND THE ART OF CONCRETE, PP 58–59

<sup>1</sup> Peter Collins, *Concrete, The Vision of a New Architecture: A Study of Auguste Perret and His Precursors* (New York: Horizon Press, 1959), 102; David C. Allison, “Suggestions on the Decorative Uses of Concrete,” *Architect and Engineer* 85 (1926): 99.

<sup>2</sup> Collins, *Concrete*, 136–37; H. Toler Booraem, “Architectural Expression in a New Material: Practical and Ethical Problems of Design in Reinforced Concrete,” *Architectural Record* 23 (1908): 24–68; Collins, *Concrete*, 148.

<sup>3</sup> Portland Cement Association, *Concrete School Houses* (Chicago: Portland Cement Association, 1915), 9–11; see Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 365–414.

<sup>4</sup> Allison, “Suggestions,” 98.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of the Permanent Building Committee, Thirteenth Church of Christ, Scientist, of Los Angeles, California, June 7, 1924–September 16, 1924 and May 12, 1925; *Wilshire Methodist Episcopal Church* (Los Angeles: Wilshire Methodist Episcopal Church, 1936).

<sup>6</sup> For an analysis of the role of the Friday Morning Club as an instrument of social reform, see Clark Davis, “An Era and Generation of Civic Engagement: The Friday Morning Club in Los Angeles, 1891–1931,” *Southern California Quarterly* 84, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 135–68.

<sup>7</sup> Irving F. Morrow, “A Notable Architectural Achievement—The University Club of Los Angeles,” *Architect and Engineer* 72 (1923): 50, 52.

<sup>8</sup> Allison, “Suggestions,” 101, 102.

## REVIEWS

EDITED BY JAMES J. RAWLS

### CHIEF MARIN: LEADER, REBEL, AND LEGEND

By Betty Goerke (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2007, 288 pp., illustrated, \$21.95 trade paper)

REVIEWED BY JOSE IGNACIO RIVERA, FORMER DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, MARIN MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

A FOREMOST PUBLISHER of California Indian literature has issued this multi-disciplinary, ethno-historical account of one of the nation's most intriguing American Indian leaders. Using archival material (primarily mission records), archeological evidence, and, most important, oral history from the descendants of the Coastal Miwok people (the Federated Indians of Garton Rancheria), Betty Goerke and her research team have created a rich historical tapestry. Their approach is indicative of a new respect by the academic world for oral history and its role in providing a fuller, more holistic view of California Indian history and culture.

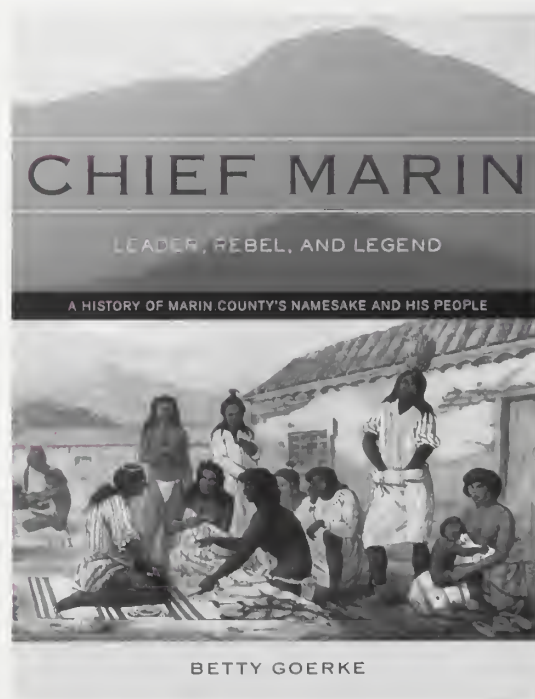
The scholarly research is first class yet not overly academic, making this book a good read for both scholars and the general public. Through oral history the reader enters Marin's world: "The fragrances of the Coastal Miwok world came from buckeye flowers, California bay leaves and bark, ground iris, California rose, angelica, marsh mint, wall-flower, and sages such as pitcher sage, mugwort, and California sage brush. Of course, there were also the odors of controlled burnings of grasslands, smoky cooking fires, cut herbs and

grasses, caught fish, shell fish, dead animals, dying and rotting foliage and fruit, and the first fall rains."

The Spanish recognized Marin's superior intelligence. Suspecting him of involvement in the 1824 attack on Mission San Rafael, and distrusting him for his affect as a man free of mission authority, they pursued him. When they captured him, the priest Father Amorós tried to convince him to bring his people into the missions. The recorded response: "Listen, man, I see you have horse that is saddle-horse, and you have horse you use for buggy. Now, if you hitch a saddle horse to buggy, he kicks and will not go, and if you put saddle on buggy horse, he won't go either. We Indians just like horses; we used to living in woods and hills and don't want live at mission. In hills we are free like stags and deer; at mission we are captives just like saddle and buggy horse." When

Father Amorós realized his argument had failed, he tried convincing by "hell and damnation," of which Chief Marin said, "... that if the priest would not bother him while he was alive he would give him [priest] permission to make a Christian of his dead body."

The publication of *Chief Marin* offers a long-awaited recognition of the past and continuing world-class leadership of the California Indians. In recent years names like Antonio Garra, Toyopurina, Camillo Ynitia, Jose Jesus, Juan Antonio, Pablo Tac, and others have come to light through relatively new contributions to California Indian literature, demonstrating that California Indian leaders are equal to Tecumseh, Sitting Bull, Quanah Parker, Geronimo, or any other names that are so well known and have been so well documented in U.S. history. *Chief Marin* is destined to be a landmark in California Indian literature.





## AMBIGUOUS JUSTICE: NATIVE AMERICANS AND THE LAW IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, 1848–1890

By Vanessa Ann Gunther (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006, 256 pp., \$29.95 paper)

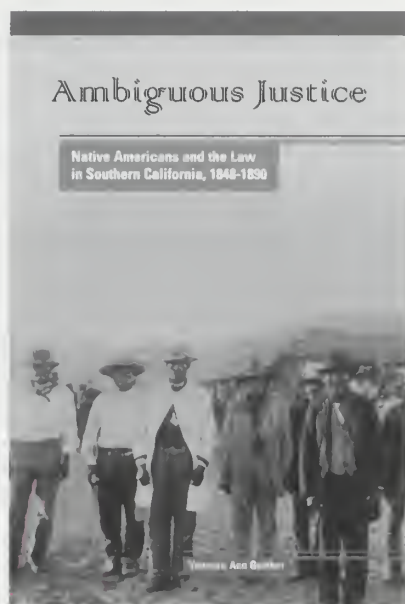
## LYNCING IN THE WEST, 1850–1935

By Ken Gonzales-Day (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006, 288 pp., illustrated, \$79.95 cloth, \$22.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY LARRY E. BURGESS, DIRECTOR OF A. K. SMILEY PUBLIC LIBRARY, AND CO-AUTHOR WITH JAMES A. SANDOS OF *THE HUNT FOR WILLIE BOY*

TWO NEW BOOKS FOCUS on the second half of California's nineteenth century. While concentrating on different subjects—Vanessa Ann Gunther on Native Americans and the law and Ken Gonzales-Day on lynching in California—both raise similar questions and provide new information for historians seeking to discuss justice, or rather injustice, primarily for Native Americans, Asians, and Latinos, between 1848 and the early twentieth century.

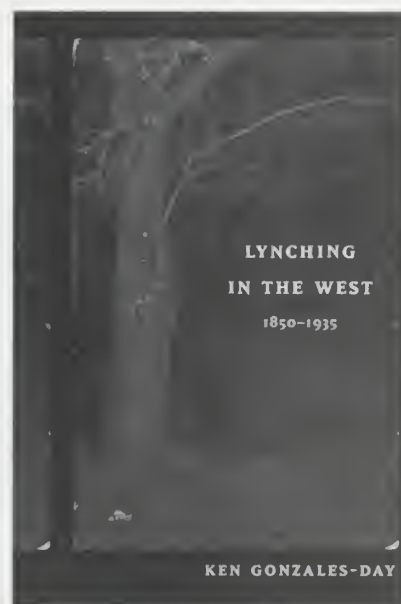
From her extensive research of legal cases in San Diego, San Bernardino, Riverside, and Los Angeles counties, Gunther has focused on those involving Indians as defendants, victims, or witnesses. She contrasts, when available, treatment of non-Indian (mostly European-descended) criminals and concludes that the legal system was used as a means of harassment and as a social and demographic tool to



control Native Americans. She demonstrates that Indians were seen primarily as a source of labor, lacked legal protection and legal access to society, and consequently were ill-served by the Spanish, Mexican, and American governments.

Utilizing his knowledge as an artist and writer, Gonzales-Day draws from a large body of newspapers and books about all the lynchings in California between 1850 and 1935. He states two goals: to provide a broader understanding of the transracial nature of lynching in the United States and to consider those factors that contributed to the “nearly complete” erasure of this history from national consciousness.

In presenting his argument, Gonzales-Day creates a detailed list of lynchings and summary executions in California. In addition, his chapter “In the Shadow of Photography” examines the evolution of the popular and grizzly lynching photograph and a parallel development of racial stereotyping through photography. Even the manipulation of Lincoln's image by enemies and critics is employed as an example to bolster his analysis.



While direct violence against Indians was the choice of few, Gunther concludes that its practice was sanctioned by Anglo society. She writes, “Indian deaths were dealt with in the ‘usual way,’ or glossed over with poorly conceived jokes about ‘visitations from God.’” (149) While she deftly documents and condemns such violence, there remains room for further consideration of violence throughout post-Gold Rush California society as a whole. For example, *The Pioneer Notes of Benjamin Hayes* alone is filled with incident after incident of seemingly inexplicable violence of whites against whites, as well as violence against Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, and Asians.

While both books provide important new information and statistical data, each raises additional questions. For all his positive contribution to cross-disciplinary discourse, Gonzales-Day wades into the shifting sands of historical criticism. That, in turn, only serves to offer up the need for greater context and diverts some of the book's significant conclusions. Criticism of

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Leonard Pitt's *Decline of the Californios* while citing hyperbolic Horace Bell's *Reminiscences of a Ranger* as dogma is an example of such digression.

In the end, both books strike at the core of issues long suppressed or little known about violence in the American West and racial and ethnic animosity, but there remains a need to address in future work "why." Gonzales-Day asks, in analyzing archival holdings: "In the archive one is reminded that institutional legacies are symptomatic of social ones. This comparison also demonstrates that the racial, ethnic, multiracial, or multiethnic body has been romanticized, vilified, and pathologized for centuries, so perhaps the only question really left to ask is when, or perhaps where, did Western racial formation begin?" (131–32)

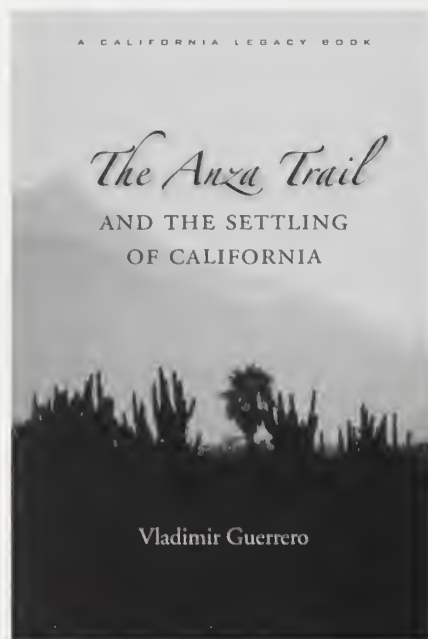
Winthrop D. Jordan's profound study *White over Black* is a good place to begin. Gunther and Gonzales-Day have gathered the data to enable them and others to continue on the path leading to answers for "when" and "where." But as far as "why," the answer may well lay in the continued historical dialogue between the past and present about the future.

### THE ANZA TRAIL AND THE SETTLING OF CALIFORNIA

By Vladimir Guerrero (Santa Clara and Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2006, 240 pp., \$16.95 trade paper)

REVIEWED BY DOUGLAS MONROY, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLORADO COLLEGE, AND AUTHOR OF *INTIMATE STRANGERS: ENCOUNTERS WITH CALIFORNIA, MEXICO, AND AMERICA*

IT IS, OF COURSE, a dramatic story: Under the leadership of Juan Bautista de Anza, explorers and settlers traveled in two expeditions from Tubac (in present-day southern Arizona), first to the presidio at Monterey in 1774 and then in 1775–76 with fifty families for settlement near San Francisco Bay. Drawing on the diaries of Anza and the priests Francisco Garcés and Pedro Font, Guerrero retells the story of these expeditions in a rather journalistic and "they went here, then they went there" style. He includes the interesting personal relationships among the intrepid Anza, the devoted Garcés, the stern and meticulous Font, and Yuma Chief Salvador Palma, who had befriended the Spaniards. The establishment of this overland route promised great things for the settlement of Alta California. Indeed, Guerrero claims these settlers "were the genesis of the Californio society, the Pilgrims of the State of California." (xi)



Aside from its dated, triumphal point of view, this book needs much more work. Guerrero's sweeping claims about "the expedition that established Californio society . . . a uniquely integrated society that thrived for seventy years from San Diego to San Francisco" are not substantiated by the primary and secondary literature about early California history. This was a fractious society rent by terrible Indian conflicts and personal rivalries that nearly brought California to civil war.

There is much more to presenting an account of these peoples' travels than soothing narration; Anza's, Garcés's, and Font's own words often are more interesting. It is hard to ignore Guerrero's laconic mention of episodes: "The expedition was on the move by early morning, every animal escorted by several natives . . . to camp by the river with good water and pasture." (24). Other descriptions do not communicate the grievous damage that such grazing did to the natives' habitats.

From Guerrero's narrative one could think that everything went well with the Yumas and the Spaniards, but we don't have Palma's actual words to corroborate this. We do know that on July 17, 1781, the Yumas, furious at the trampling consumption of their grasses by the hoofed beasts, rose against the Spanish at the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers, killed the settlers, the soldiers, and Father Garcés, and closed the overland route for the rest of Californio history.



**QUEEN CALAFIA'S  
PARADISE: CALIFORNIA  
AND THE ITALIAN  
AMERICAN NOVEL**

By Kenneth Scambray (Cranbury, NJ: Farleigh Dickenson University Press, 2006, 211 pp., \$46.50 paper)

**BROKERS OF CULTURE:  
ITALIAN JESUITS IN THE  
AMERICAN WEST, 1848–  
1919**

By Gerald McKevitt (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006, 448 pp., illustrated, \$65.00 cloth)

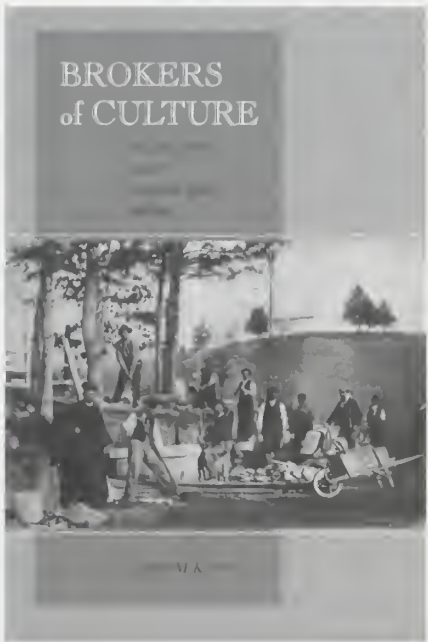
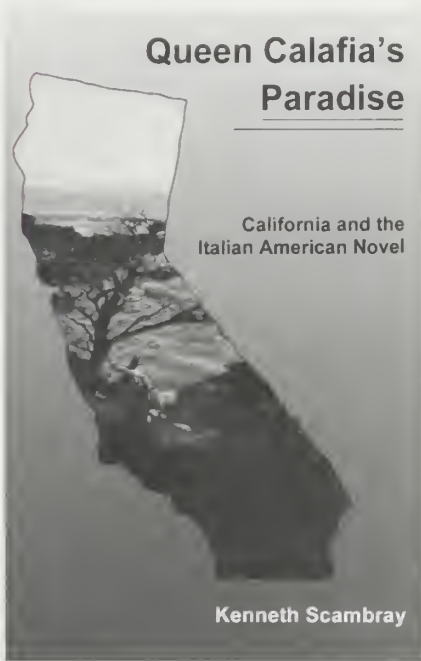
REVIEWED BY ANDREW ROLLE, RESEARCH SCHOLAR, HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, AUTHOR OF WESTWARD THE IMMIGRANTS

IN THESE TWO COMPLIMENTARY books, Gerald McKevitt, a professor of history at Santa Clara University, examines the impressive role of foreign Jesuits (mostly Italian) out West, while Kenneth Scambray, who teaches literature at the University of La Verne, demonstrates how Italian-American authors achieved an emerging new identity in California.

McKevitt's book is many years in the making. Based upon both European and U.S. archives, he chronicles how foreign Jesuits labored sacrificially in the wilds of the American West. Far from their homelands, these priests founded frontier churches and orphanages, as well as schools and colleges. Among these were Gonzaga in the Pacific Northwest and, in California, the University of San Francisco, Loyola Marymount University, and Santa Clara University, now highly respected institutions.

Among these priests emerged genuine clerical and intellectual leaders, now half-forgotten, including Giuseppe Giorda and Gregorio Mengarini. McKevitt rescues from an undeserved oblivion those who never made it back to their homelands. Their mission in the American Northwest resembled the earlier work of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino in New Spain's Southwest.

Scambray has organized his book around six Italo-American authors: Jo Pagano, Pier Maria Pasinetti, Dorothy Calvetti Bryant, Lorenzo Madalena, Steven Varni, and John Fante. Each dealt with the experiences their families encountered upon arrival in California. At first, all was not happiness in that paradise, despite the state's wide-open spaces and promising job opportunities. Bryant describes the tensions her Italian-Catholic parents faced in a then-predominantly Protestant, non-European society. There also remained the usual struggles between genera-



tions as youngsters sought to mediate between their home environments and the once-dominant Anglicized culture. Occasional bitterness crops up in Fante's *The Road to Los Angeles*. This and his other books prepared him to become a successful, Hollywood movie writer. Indeed, these and non-Italian ethnic authors have recorded their own versions of life in California.

Both volumes offer an indirect refutation of Oscar Handlin's book, *The Uprooted*. In 1962, Handlin was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his U.S. eastern-oriented view of immigration as "a history of alienation and its consequences." Ever so slowly, today's scholars have come to a modified conclusion. These two books suggest how America's western migrants, especially in California, were perhaps more upraised than uprooted.

## REVIEWS

### YOSEMITE'S TIOGA COUNTRY: A HISTORY AND APPRECIATION

By Gene Rose (*Yosemite National Park, CA: Yosemite Association, 2006, 224 pp., \$24.95 cloth*)

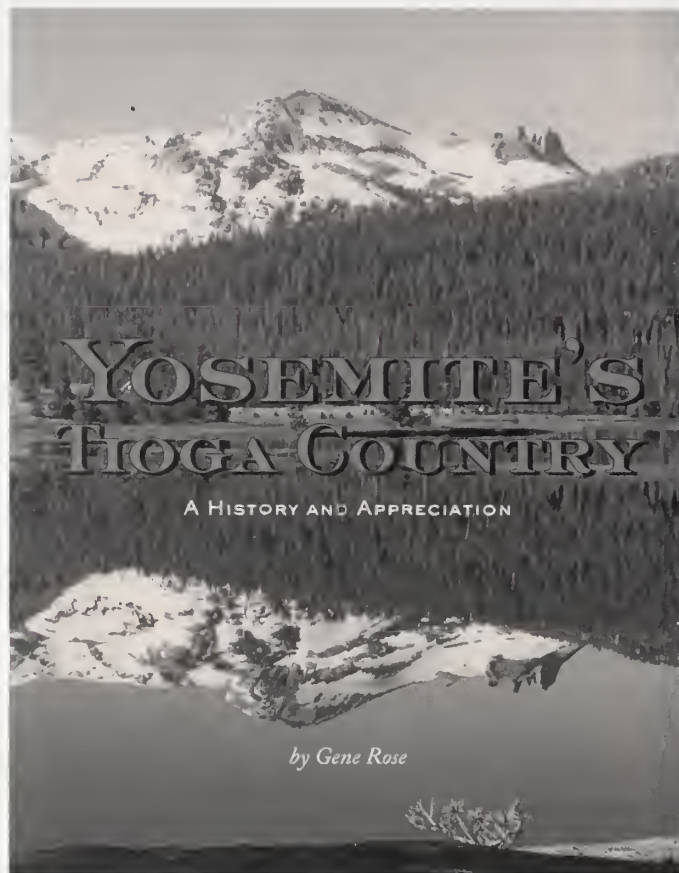
### YOSEMITE: ART OF AN AMERICAN ICON

Edited by Amy Scott (*Los Angeles: Autry National Center in association with University of California Press, 2006, 232 pp., illustrated, \$65.00 cloth, \$34.95 paper*)

REVIEWED BY JAMES J. RAWLS, REVIEWS EDITOR OF CALIFORNIA HISTORY AND CO-AUTHOR OF CALIFORNIA: AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY

THE RECESSION OF the Yosemite Valley from state to federal control in 1906 consolidated the Yosemite National Park that visitors enjoy today—complete with such star attractions as Bridalveil Fall, Inspiration Point, and the incomparable Half Dome. The centennial of that event has been marked by symposia, tours, and new publications; among the finest of those tributes are the two books under review.

Gene Rose, a veteran reporter and photographer with the *Fresno Bee*, has produced a remarkable volume that goes considerably beyond what its title promises, *Yosemite's Tioga Country: A History and Appreciation*. While the book focuses on the fifty-nine miles of the scenic Tioga Road that traverses the park's high country, its range covers the broader story of the entire region's geology, pre-history, historical development, and current challenges.



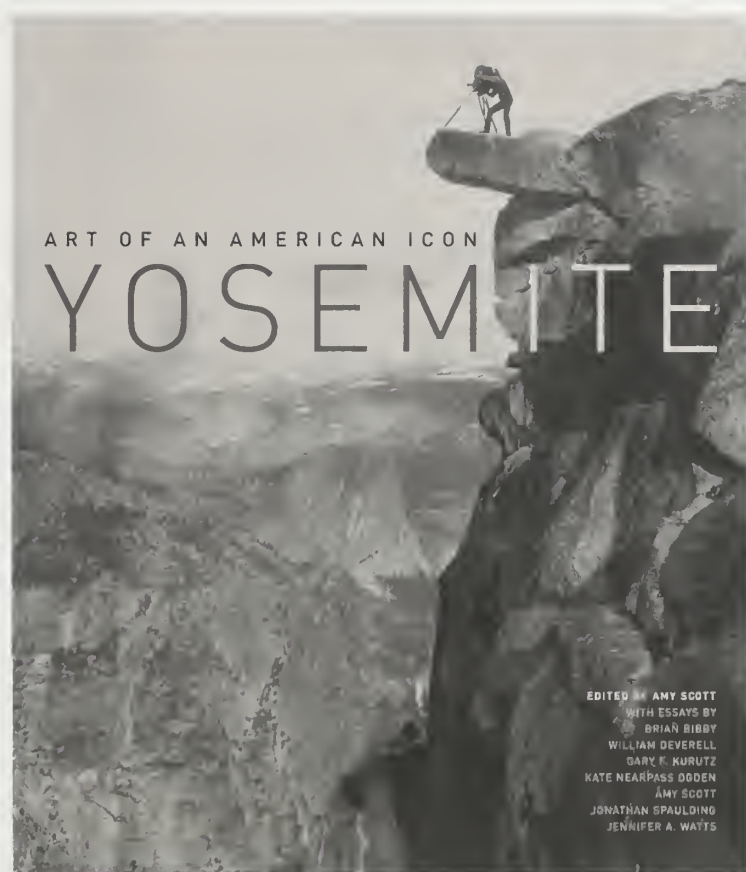
Rose devotes his first chapter to the native people of Yosemite, noting that here is an area in California where Indian (not Spanish) place names predominate. The names Tuolumne, Mono, Tenaya, Tioga, and Yosemite itself are all reminders of the first people of this stunning land. Considering the tragic dislocation and decimation of those people, Rose observes the irony of such appellations. In a particularly poignant scene, Lafayette Bunnell, one of the leaders of the Mariposa Battalion, explains to Chief Tenaya that his memory will be preserved by the lake that now bears his name. "His countenance as he left us," Bunnell later recalled, "indicated that he thought the name of the lake no equivalent for the loss of his territory." (14)

The cast of characters in Rose's narrative include such giants as geologists Josiah Whitney and William Brewer, mountaineer Clarence King, and the legendary John Muir. It was the latter, of course, who spearheaded the campaign to extend federal protection over Yosemite against the damage being done by (among others) those woolly "hooved locust" and "meadow mowers" so detested by Muir. Rose is at his best in describing the energetic Stephen Mather, first director of the National Park Service, whose life-long commitment to conservation was inspired by the vistas of Tioga country. In a telling phrase, Rose credits Mather's success to his "unique combination of charisma and conscience." (99) What a potent mix for effective leadership!



*Yosemite: Art of an American Icon*, edited by curator Amy Scott, is a stunning collection of essays and graphics from an exhibition of the same name that premiered at the Autry National Center's Museum of the American West and traveled later to the Oakland Museum of California. The quality of the illustrations is magnificent, rendered in "suitable-for-framing" detail and life-like clarity. The essays are equally lucid, offering penetrating analyses of the human renderings of this spectacular landscape in painting, photography, basketry, and other media. Especially provocative are historian William Deverell's reflections on Muir, Emerson, and Ansel Adams; librarian Gary F. Kurutz's masterful essay on the black-and-white landscape photography of the nineteenth century; and Native American scholar Brian Bibby's sensitive portrayal of the intricate baskets, headbands, and necklaces created by the indigenous peoples who lived in the valley for more than three millennia "before Yosemite became a destination or a pastime." (112)

The penultimate essay in the collection, brilliantly crafted by editor Amy Scott, carries the story of artistic interpretation through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Her commentary underscores a theme present throughout the volume. "Yosemite is an inherently animated place—its monuments are not static geologic specimens but filled with spirits," she writes. "Like us, Yosemite is alive." (183) Here she echoes Muir's words, quoted by Gene Rose, about the "temple" that is Yosemite: "Every rock in its walls seems to glow with life." (60) The challenge that



unites these two centennial volumes is the same that spurred Muir into action more than a century ago. What should we do now to preserve and sustain that life? How can we maintain access to the land without destroying the very qualities that cause us to seek it out? These are perplexing questions not only for Yosemite, but for all of California.

## GOVERNOR JAMES ROLPH AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION IN CALIFORNIA

*By James Worthen (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 2006, 228 pp., illustrated, \$35.00, trade paper)*

REVIEWED BY STEVE LEIKIN, LECTURER IN HISTORY, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY, AND AUTHOR OF *THE PRACTICAL UTOPIANS: AMERICAN WORKERS AND THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE GILDED AGE*

IT IS ONE OF THE GREAT IRONIES of California history that its relentlessly upbeat politician James Rolph, best known as "Sunny Jim" for his charming disposition, was also one of the state's greatest tragedies—or so James Worthen ably recounts in his new and much-needed biography of

## REVIEWS

the long-serving mayor of San Francisco and single-term governor of the Golden State.

Born in San Francisco to immigrant parents in 1869, James Rolph had a happy childhood, entered the business world of this growing and dynamic city, and, with the help of a well-to-do friend, made his fortune in shipping. When the 1906 earthquake devastated San Francisco, he led in the delivery of aid to victims in need and established himself as a community leader. Soon after, he ran for mayor and entered politics.

This story of a man's political life is at the heart of Worthen's book, and it is a curious and fascinating story. Rolph was very wealthy, but he maintained a sympathy for the workingman that enabled him to represent all the citizens of San Francisco, a city otherwise wracked by class divisions. No political ideologue, he led with a sense of humanity and a generosity well tuned to the city's environment. Once elected mayor, he became a permanent fixture in that position.

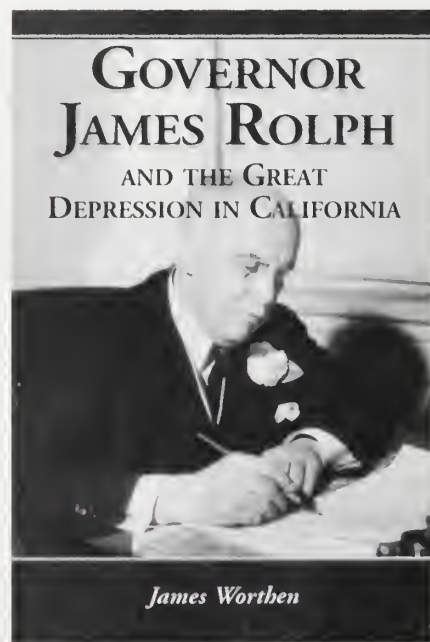
The skills he developed as mayor worked well. At first he worked toward his vision of rebuilding the city and bringing municipal ownership to its utilities and street car system. He was a virtual "progressive" minus the moral strictures against alcohol, of which he was a great fan. His boundless energy resulted in a new City Hall and Civic Center, a streetcar line, the building of the Hetch-Hetchy Dam, and the Panama Pacific Exhibition. He also developed a habit of relying on a group of

trusted advisors to make his decisions, gradually assuming the role of ambassador, leading parades and welcoming foreign dignitaries far more often than taking care of the city's daily business.

When Rolph decided to run for governor in 1930, he, along with the rest of the country, had experienced serious financial setbacks. Yet he entered the job with the same limitless energy and style with which he had governed San Francisco. Unfortunately, he had no real vision to bring to the state and his style did not work well in Sacramento. He soon developed a contentious and dysfunctional relationship with the legislature at a time when economic depression made governing that much more difficult. The contentious ambitions of other politicians in the state's capital made matters worse. Rolph then spent an inordinate amount of time traveling the state to meet with its citizens, ignoring the important work

of governance. He wore himself out physically and failed to gain control over the state's affairs. His governorship was largely a failure. Physically exhausted, he died in 1934 while still in office.

This account of Rolph's life is thoroughly engaging, though Worthen could have dealt with two important issues more adeptly. First, he glosses over the controversy surrounding the Hetch-Hetchy Dam without exploring Rolph's advocacy in any meaningful way. Such a controversial episode in the state's history deserves better. Second, he implies that Rolph's denial of a pardon in 1932 to Tom Mooney, who was falsely convicted of the Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco in 1916, was justified, Mooney being a "dangerous radical." Rather than a justification, this appears to be an unconscionable abuse of power and Worthen should have treated it as such.



Books for review should be sent to  
**Dr. James J. Rawls, Reviews Editor,**  
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A tent pitched under towering California coast redwoods (right) is part of Clarkson Dye's shaded landscape of a magnificent redwood forest. Dye (1869–1955), whose extensive travels inspired his paintings, lived most of his life in San Francisco; with Frank Van Sloun, he painted large murals in the San Francisco Palace of Fine Arts. This painting and *The Fernery* (see Collections, page 3) were featured in CHS' recent exhibit, "Past Tents: The Way We Camped."

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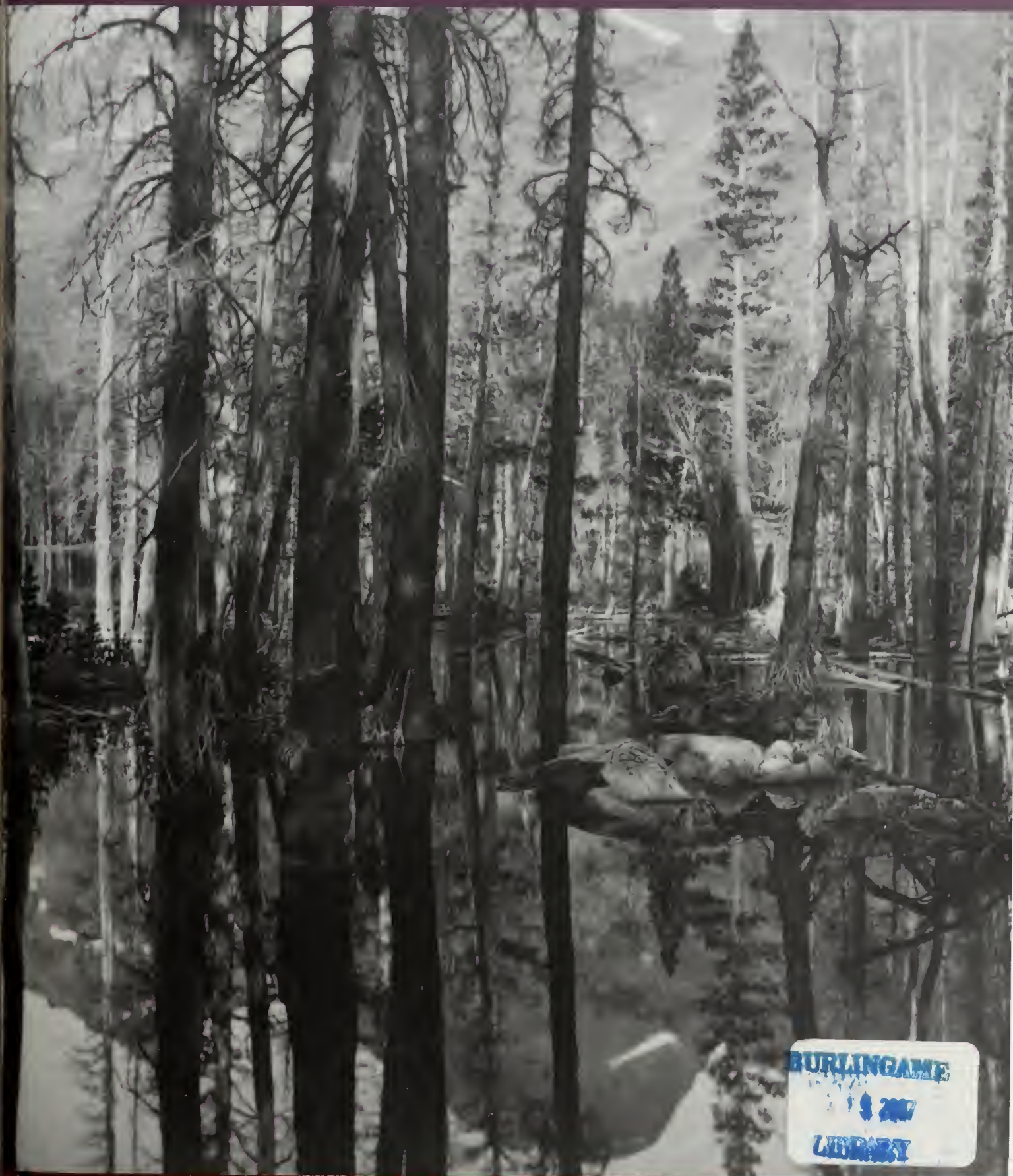


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### ON THE COVER

Green Creek Lake, detail, ca. 1902–16, Andrew Forbes. Among California's foremost photographers, Andrew Forbes was a prolific documentarian of western and frontier scenes. His compelling images of the Eastern Sierra, some of which are published in this issue for the first time, reveal the unique diversity of the region and its people.

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A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

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## FROM THE EDITOR

### PLACE SHINES

Occupying its own place on the last page of *California History*, our Spotlight feature is meant to evoke a lasting impression on readers. Material is abundant: The only criterion is that each selection be an iconic or otherwise memorable photograph of a significant California place. The image might be historic, recent, or contemporary and drawn from the work of a famous or unknown, professional or amateur photographer.

Michael Dawson is a super-natural to serve as our first Spotlight guest editor. Current owner and operator of Dawson's Book Shop/Michael Dawson Gallery in Los Angeles, Michael has pushed out the boundaries of the bookshop business, creating a fine arts photography gallery within and founding the Los Angeles Salon, where the curious public meets for close encounters with artists, writers, and photographers. With his expertise in and devotion to historic and contemporary images connected to California places, Michael brings an exceptional glow to these pages. By connecting the Spotlight image to one of our articles, he sparks readers' own interpretation of a compelling California scene.

This issue's authors also direct the scholarly spotlight on place. David E. Hayes-Bautista, Cynthia L. Chamberlin, et al. have harnessed the magic of numbers through their path-breaking research and analysis of the size and civic participation of the state's Latino population. Reversing previous understanding, "Expansion, Empowerment, and Engagement: *Las Juntas Patrióticas* in California, 1848-1869" demonstrates that Latinos lived and worked in many more places and were far more broadly distributed than has been recognized.

Karen S. Langlois pairs previously unpublished photographs made by Andrew Forbes and the poetry of Mary Austin to document and enshrine the stunning pre-Los Angeles Aqueduct beauty of the Owens Valley and the distinctive, immaculate glory of Eastern Sierra vistas. In "Mary Austin and Andrew Forbes: Poetry, Photography, and the Eastern Sierra," she sheds new light on the beholders of these fated places from little-known, hundred-year-old sources.

In "The Land of Big Sur: Conservation on the California Coast," John Walton presents a case study for environmental protection that untangles a challenging web of politics, preservation, private interest, and public good. Through emotional and contentious struggles for the future of a beloved and emblematic California place—Big Sur's spectacular 100 miles of coastline and its inland mountain slopes—he illuminates a national example for collaboration and stewardship.

All over California, place shines.

JANET FIREMAN



San Francisco May 14<sup>th</sup> 1856.

The Board of Managers convened pursuant to adjournment in the Washington St. Baptist Chapel at 11 o'clock A.M.

The meeting was opened by reading from the scriptures and Prayer.

The minutes for the month were read and approved - A coin making and Monthly Report read, accepted, and placed on file.

Mrs. Baldwin reported supplying Mrs. Grey with 11 yds of muslin, 5 yds of Calico and 5 yds of remnant cotton for her child. The boys were well supplied with clothing - About \$100 had been subscribed and given her so that she cannot be in immediate want.

The Com. for Mrs. Cannon had not been able to find her.

Mrs. Jackson was reported as having lost her board and hardly knowing what to do.

The child of Mrs. Bennett had again caught the diphtheria and had been paid by Mrs. McKee for the board of the child and that had been removed to the institution where she is made comfortable and is improving.

Mrs. Torr and husband were chosen Com. to investigate the case of Mrs. Grey and decide what should be done for herself and husband. This case reported by Mrs. Baldwin.

Mrs. Hambly was chosen Com. to visit Mrs. McDermot, a woman rendered helpless by a withered arm and whose husband is nearly blind.

The destitution of Mrs. Kerr was sometimes since before the Society was again reported and a proposition made by Mrs. McKee that inasmuch as there was no probability of hearing from her friends in regard to the application made there, to send her friends to take her home, to the fact that the ladies of the Socy, undertake to raise the money provided an arrangement could be made for her sake of getting her things and make and Mrs. J. B. McKee chose Com. to make necessary arrangements.

The Socy was decided to write the Sponsors without delay.

For motion the board adjourned  
L. A. Jackson

## Record Book of the Minutes and Proceedings of the San Francisco Ladies Protection and Relief Society, 1853-1857

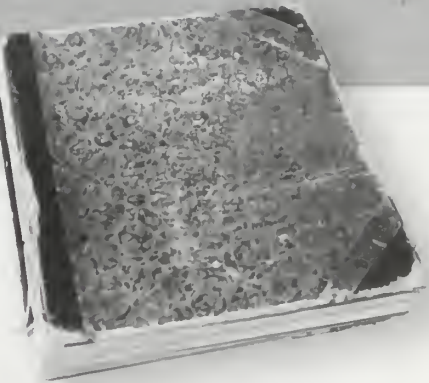
"Small quarto, 284 pp., plus blanks, original marbled boards, leather back-strip, spine nearly perished, front board detached, but present, rear board nearly so, former owner's bookplate, inscribed in ink in neat legible hands, else very good."

So reads the dealer's description for the first record book of the San Francisco Ladies Relief Society, the original name of one of the oldest charitable social service institutions in the western United States. Recently acquired—its existence previously unknown—the manuscript joins twenty-seven other volumes of the society's records (1853-1969) in the CHS collection.

This entry, dated May 14, 1856, records charitable activities typical of the society's founding members: providing food, lodging, medical care, employment, and sometimes passage to "the States" for destitute women whose husbands worked in the gold mines, or who had died, and for children orphaned or in need of care. Among them:

Mrs. Baldwin reported supplying Mrs. Grey with 10 yds . . . plaid, 5 yds Calico and remnants cotton for her child . . . About \$100 had . . . [sic] been subscribed and given her so that she cannot be in immediate want.

Mrs. Hambly was chosen . . . to visit Mrs. McDermot, a woman rendered helpless by a withered arm and whose husband is nearly blind.



The destitution of Mrs. Kerr . . . was again reported and a proposition made by Mrs. McKee . . . to raise the money [for travel "to the East"].

In 1955 the society merged with the Crocker Old People's Home and today continues to operate The Heritage, the renowned San Francisco senior residence originally designed by Julia Morgan.

# Empowerment, Expansion, and Engagement: *Las Juntas Patrióticas* in California, 1848–1869

BY DAVID E. HAYES-BAUTISTA, CYNTHIA L. CHAMBERLIN, BRANDEN JONES,  
JUAN CARLOS CORNEJO, CECILIA CAÑADAS, CARLOS MARTINEZ, AND GLORIA MEZA

**T**he traditional view of Latinos<sup>1</sup> in California from statehood in 1850 to the early twentieth century is captured in the title of one the most widely known histories of the period: *The Decline of the Californios*. In his foundational text, Leonard Pitt points to the negation of Mexican land grants in the early statehood period and a concomitant loss of economic power and political office as causes of Latino diminishment. Although Pitt focuses narrowly on the Latino landed gentry, his framework generally has been assumed by other scholars to apply to the entire Latino population.<sup>2</sup> In this generalized version of Latino history, the state's once-thriving Latino communities—foundations of civil life in dozens of towns and settlements—suffered an irreversible political and economic decline in the latter half of the nineteenth century and have returned to public notice only through recent immigration.

According to this scenario, decline in the mid-nineteenth century was followed by displacement. The Foreign Miners' Tax (1850) and Atlantic-American<sup>3</sup> vigilantism during the 1850s drove Latino miners out of the gold fields. In urbanizing areas, such as Santa Barbara and Los Angeles, Latinos gradually were displaced into

small, shrinking barrios. Disappearance followed decline and displacement. Latinos left California, some returning to Mexico and others drifting to other states. As the number of marriages and baptisms plummeted and as elite Latinos were absorbed culturally through intermarriage with Atlantic-Americans,<sup>4</sup> the Latino population dwindled to near oblivion. Through such mechanisms of decline, displacement, and disappearance, Pitt's account implies, Latinos virtually vanished from California just at the time the modern state was being shaped, and they apparently had little to do with its development.

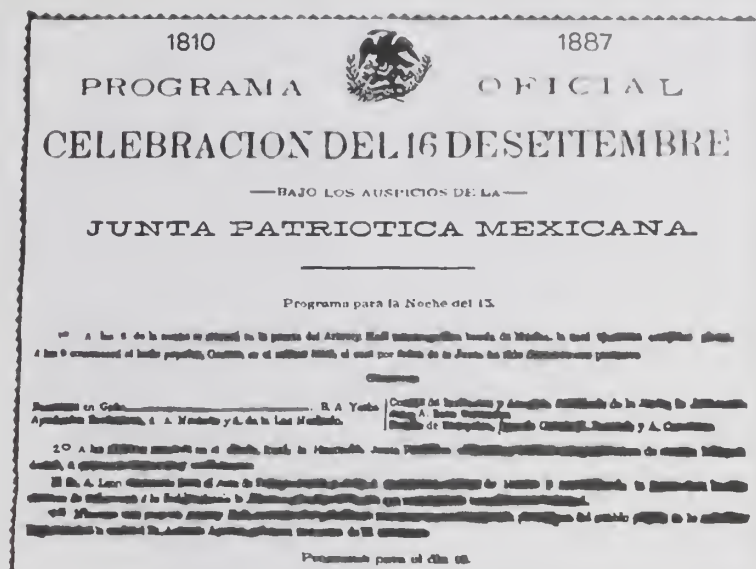
Events publicized in the Spanish-language press during the early statehood era, however, tell a different story. At least twenty newspapers were published by and for California's Spanish-speaking population, both immigrants and Californios.<sup>5</sup> Beginning with *La Estrella*, the Spanish-language half of the Los Angeles *Star* (1851–55), and *El Eco del Pacífico*, the Spanish-language section of the French-language *L'Echo du Pacifique* in San Francisco (1852–65), a number of newspapers kept California's far-flung Latino communities informed about local, state, and international events. Los Angeles subsequently had two Spanish-language newspapers,



*El Clamor Público* (1855–59) and *El Amigo del Pueblo* (1860–62). *La Gaceta* was begun in Santa Barbara in 1855 as the Spanish-language pages of the Santa Barbara Gazette. As San Francisco rocketed into prominence as a result of the Gold Rush, Spanish-language publications exploded there, too: *La Crónica* (1854–56); *El Sud-Americano* (1855); *La Voz de Méjico* (1862–66); *La Bandera Mexicana* and *El Semanario Mejicano* (1863); *El Nuevo Mundo* (1864–68); *El Correo de San Francisco* (1865); *La Voz de Chile* and *El Observador* (1866); the combined paper *La Voz de Chile y el Nuevo Mundo* (1867–68, continuing afterwards until 1884 as *El Voz del Nuevo Mundo*); *El Bien Social*, *La Prensa Mexicana*, and *El Republicano* (1868); and *El Tiempo* (1869).<sup>6</sup>

These newspapers documented the activities of a lively, engaged Latino population throughout this period of presumed decline, displacement, and disappearance. Latinos responded to events that affected them, from mob vigilantism in California to the French invasion of Mexico, by creating and adapting the *juntas patrióticas* (patriotic assemblies), organizations that managed and channeled their political and economic resources in ways that changed events around them. Because they tracked the activities of these juntas, Spanish-language newspapers provide a detailed view of how Latino communities remained active in the issues of the day, including civil rights, political participation, community services, and international affairs.

Furthermore, an analysis of the growth and membership of the juntas during this time suggests a considerable numeric and geographic expansion of Latinos throughout California in its first twenty years as part of the United States. Driven especially by the Gold Rush-induced immigration, the Latino population grew significantly, extending from the original eighteenth-century coastal settlements to virtually every town and mining camp, from Yreka to Hornitos, Red Bluff to Stockton.



Announcements such as this page from a printed program publicizing the 1887 celebration of Mexican Independence Day in Los Angeles were published by the Spanish-language newspapers in California, which from as early as 1851 were the primary source of local, state, and international news for the state's Latino communities. Among these events, the annual September 16 festivities commemorating Mexico's independence from Spain were always an important focus of activity for the local citizens' groups that organized them, the *juntas patrióticas*.

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Inasmuch as the functioning of community organizations provides clues to the dynamics of the communities and societies in which they operate, this essay examines the structure and function of the *juntas patrióticas* during a crucial period in the formation of Latino civil society in California—the years just prior to and the two decades following statehood—with a special emphasis on the period between the American Civil War and the French Intervention in Mexico (1861–67). The *juntas*' continuing existence from their establishment in the 1840s, when California was part of the Republic of Mexico, to their sudden, vigorous growth and expansion during the 1860s argues for a Latino civil society that, far from disappearing before an Atlantic-American cultural onslaught, was alive and well, changing and adapting to new conditions. Our analysis of the activities of the *juntas patrióticas*, as published in

the Spanish-language press, replaces an account of decline, displacement, and disappearance with alternative narratives of empowerment, expansion, and engagement.

## EARLY HISTORY OF LAS JUNTAS PATRIÓTICAS

Four years after Mexico won her independence from Spain, the planning and implementation of the annual celebrations of Mexican independence in Mexico City, *fiestas patrias*, were entrusted to a nongovernmental group called the *Junta Patriótica*. First organized in the summer of 1825 by a group of citizens, the junta held annual elections for a president and officers to plan the celebrations—music, a parade, fireworks, temporary stands for orators, flags and decorations, food, drink, a ball, and perhaps a bullfight—and collected funds to underwrite their cost. After publishing a summary of expenses and funds received, the junta then essentially disbanded until the following year. The tradition of a voluntary junta patriótica undertaking the organization of the annual fiesta patria spread throughout Mexico, and eventually most large cities came to have one.<sup>7</sup>

Although this custom may have arrived in Alta California with the 1834 Hajar-Padrés colonizing expedition, the earliest documented existence of a junta patriótica in California dates from a decade later. In 1845, the president of Los Angeles's junta, José Antonio Carrillo, sent an invitation to Antonio F. Coronel (originally a member of the Hajar-Padrés colony) to serve as chair of the dance committee for the ball that was part of that year's festivities.<sup>8</sup>

In 1848, within weeks of the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the Mexican-American War (1846–48), a public announcement of the discovery of gold in the Sierra Nevada caused a momentous demographic shift in California's population. Quite well documented is the sudden influx of tens of thousands of



*Antonio F. Coronel (1817–1894) remained active in the Los Angeles junta patriótica for more than forty years from the time he received his letter of invitation to serve as president of the dance committee in 1845. Born in Mexico City, Coronel arrived in California in 1834 with his family as a member of the Hajar-Padrés colony. Settling in Los Angeles, he became politically prominent under both the Mexican and U.S. governments of California. During the Mexican period, he held military rank and served as a justice of the peace and inspector of missions; after California became part of the United States, he held numerous local public offices, including county assessor, city councilman, and member of the water commission. He was also mayor of Los Angeles (1853–54) and state treasurer (1867–71).*

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Atlantic-American gold-seekers who brought with them largely British-based customs, language, laws, and organizations. Less well known is the equally momentous impact of the Gold Rush on California's Latino society: thousands, possibly tens of thousands, of Latino immigrant gold-seekers poured in, not only from Mexico, but from all over Latin America—Chile, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, and Central America. The most recent immigrants from Mexico brought their tradition of the junta patriótica to the inland mining areas, where they established some of the first gold-mining towns and camps in the state: Hornitos, Melones, Sonora, Vallecito, San



Andreas, Columbia, Jackson, Spanish Flat, and others. The junta in Hornitos, thirty miles east of Merced, built the town's first fraternal lodge in 1850, when Hornitos was barely two years old.<sup>9</sup> These new Latino settlers frequently bypassed the established Latino population centers of coastal California in favor of inland mining regions in the northern and central portions of the state. As a result, the Latino population in the southern part of the state remained predominantly Californio while the mining regions in the north became predominantly immigrant.

Despite their new American citizenship, Los Angeles's Latinos retained a sense of loyalty to Mexico as well and continued to celebrate Mexican Independence Day festivities after 1848. In 1854, an unnamed group of "*cinco ciudadanos* [five citizens]" shouldered the full cost of a week-long celebration of "*tiempos antepasados* [old times]," with a ball and daily bullfights, lasting from September 16 to 20.<sup>10</sup> While neither the sponsoring groups nor the individuals were specifically named in the published account of the celebrations, the timing and form of the events certainly recall the functions of the junta patriótica.

The size and scope of these Los Angeles celebrations grew year after year. By 1855, Francisco P. Ramírez, the young editor of *El Clamor Público*, wrote, "Not since California passed into the power of the United States has the anniversary of the independence of Mexico been celebrated in this city as well as it was this 16th of September."<sup>11</sup> During the 1850s, Mexican independence also was celebrated in many other parts of the state. "Mexicans living in California everywhere have celebrated the glorious anniversary of their country's independence," Ramírez proudly proclaimed.<sup>12</sup> By 1859, sponsorship of these celebrations was attributed to a *Junta de Mexicanos*; juntas patrióticas were most likely functioning at some level wherever celebrations were recorded.<sup>13</sup>



*Filomeno Ybarra was a noted speaker at Mexican Independence and Cinco de Mayo celebrations hosted by the Los Angeles junta between 1863 and 1865. This junta was the largest in California in its heyday during the 1860s, with approximately 1,761 members. Like all juntas, its membership was open to Californios, Mexican immigrants, and other Latinos, as well as to non-Latinos.*

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## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS

Times were hard for most Latinos after 1848, when to a large extent they lost whatever political power and recourse they had enjoyed during the era of Mexican rule. Whereas Latinos once occupied nearly all civil and military offices in Mexican Alta California, after California became part of the United States the numbers of Latinos holding such offices dwindled significantly. In northern California, for example, Latinos were swept almost completely from office, with only an occasional sheriff, assembly member, or county supervisor remaining.<sup>14</sup> Latinos also were subjected to generally negative government policies throughout the 1850s, developments about which they were kept informed by the Spanish-language press. The Foreign Miners' Tax of 1850, designed to favor "American" miners in the gold fields, was followed by the Land Commission's declaration in 1852 that all Mexican and Spanish land

grants were null and void unless title could be proved beyond a shadow of a doubt. The resulting lengthy and expensive title litigation helped drive many a Californio rancher to ruin, and squatters in some areas claimed possession of their lands.<sup>15</sup> The "Greaser Law" of 1855 punished Latinos who had no readily visible means of support.<sup>16</sup> Legislative attempts were made to abolish the bilingual provisions of the state constitution and to abrogate women's right to own property independently of their husbands, a traditional Hispanic legal right that had been acknowledged in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and in California's original constitution. The platform of the Know-Nothing party, virulently anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant, included a proposal to strip Californios of their citizenship.<sup>17</sup> Throughout these developments in the 1850s, the juntas maintained a fairly low-key, temporary profile, out of public sight, except during the fiestas patrias. Little information on their political activities, if indeed there were any, has been found to date. But this political nonparticipation was about to change, as news of events outside the state's borders occupied the Spanish-language press.

Despite a time lag of four to eight weeks, the newspapers carried stories about the French incursion into Mexico. California's Latinos learned about the landing of the Triple Alliance in Veracruz to collect debts contracted by previous administrations,<sup>18</sup> the agreement of Soledad in which President Benito Juárez pled national bankruptcy and asked for an extension, the withdrawal of the English and Spanish forces on the strength of Juárez's promises, and the menacing French presence, continuing after the Spaniards and English had departed. In May 1862, events took a serious turn when the French broke off diplomatic relations with Mexico, complaining of "outrages of which the victims have been French subjects" living in Mexico. Just as suddenly, the

French found an interest in helping Mexico find governmental stability. This help would take the form of "their advice and moral support, [which] would be given to the people, but never violence or a resort to brute force." Yet Latinos in far-away California read with horror that France had marched its troops from Veracruz to Orizaba, then on to Puebla, gateway to the capital of the Republic of Mexico, "without encountering much opposition."<sup>19</sup>

The news from the Atlantic Coast of the United States, where the Civil War was under way, was no happier for supporters of legally elected governments: the world's first encounter between iron-clad ships, the Federal *Monitor* and the Confederate *Merrimac*; the dreadful carnage of the battle of Shiloh; and Lee's spirited defense of Richmond, capital of the Confederacy, which had stopped the Union advance cold. Bad news from Mexico followed bad news from the eastern states, week after week. But then, on May 5, 1862, there was a sudden flash of hope—the outnumbered, ragtag Mexican army repelled the seemingly inexorable French advance at Puebla, sending the French troops, victors of Crimea, Sebastopol, and the Italian campaign, reeling back to Orizaba to lick their wounds. When the news reached California, the Spanish-language headlines were enthusiastic: "Hurrah for Mexico!! Hurrah for independence!! Hurrah for the valiant Mexican soldiers!! Hurrah for the heroic General Zaragoza and his comrades!!" For California's Latinos, U.S. citizens and immigrants alike, this news was a bracing tonic. Suddenly, they were part of a force to be reckoned with. Their peers at Puebla had taken a daring stance and had emerged victorious against the odds. Spontaneously, Latino residents of the gold country town of Columbia, in Tuolumne County, celebrated "our triumph against the French" by firing artillery salutes, singing patriotic songs, and toasting Mexico's success.<sup>20</sup>



## EMPOWERMENT

Giddy with joy, many Latinos wanted to participate somehow in this Mexican feat of arms. They sent letters from Los Angeles, Tuolumne, Mariposa, Napa, Calaveras, and San Luis Obispo counties to the editor of *La Voz de Méjico* Manuel E. Rodríguez, voicing their desire to march to Mexico and join the defenders of Puebla. A few days later, the paper reported that a fund had been established in Mexico City to commission a sword of honor for the victorious General Ignacio Zaragoza. Rodríguez went on to ask, perhaps only rhetorically, "Would it not be fitting that, here in California, some show of appreciation be made, which those valiant men merit who have spilled their blood in defense of the homeland?" Within days, contributions to the sword fund started pouring into the newspaper's office, reaching more than \$1,200 in the first eight weeks.<sup>21</sup>

Nor was Latino enthusiasm confined to occasional ceremonial acts. In late July, Latinos in Red Bluff surprised Rodríguez by sending \$74.50 as "donations for the relief of the wounded and disabled, and persons left orphaned as a result of the war Mexico endures against France." In Placerville, far up in the gold country, Juan Oria and Tomás Ramos determined to contribute to the defense of Mexico on an ongoing basis. On August 6, 1862, they urged Latinos in California to help Mexico by "opening a new subscription for the benefit of the national army hospitals . . . in the name of every patriotic Mexican living in California."<sup>22</sup> Neighboring Latinos supported them by forming a junta patriótica to organize and collect contributions. They challenged Latinos in other cities to organize similar bodies. Dozens of cities responded, and dozens of juntas were formed in the next few months to raise funds to help repel the French invaders from Mexico.

Additional collections for other intervention-related efforts raised funds to provide medical care for wounded soldiers and support for the

widows and orphans of Mexican soldiers killed in battle, to supply swords and medals to especially valorous Mexican commanders, and to enable former prisoners of war to return from captivity in France and rejoin the fight. A number of volunteers, such as Jesús Hernández, a Mexican immigrant living in San Luis Obispo, publicly offered to fight the French, even asking the juntas to provide weapons and transportation to Mexico.<sup>23</sup>

In October 1862, a *Junta Central Directiva* (Central Managing Junta) was established in San Francisco to collect the contributions of each local junta and send the total sum to the Mexican government. On November 10, 1862, the first remittance was sent to Mexico by the treasurer of the Junta Central, *La Voz de Méjico* editor Manuel E. Rodríguez, who explained in his cover letter to Mexico's Ministry of Finance that "the Mexicans living in this country have formed juntas patrióticas for the purpose of collecting donations for the distinguished Army of the East."<sup>24</sup> Rodríguez enclosed a letter of credit in the amount of \$1,040, drawn on the London firm of the Rothschilds, "by arrangement of the junta central, created in this city, the manager of all the other juntas." He noted that this was only "the first, modest offering which we contribute to the war effort."<sup>25</sup>

To the juntas' joy, a reply was received a few weeks later, on December 23, 1862, from Mexico's foreign minister, Juan de Dios Arias, who offered the assurance that "Mr. Citizen President [Juárez] has learned of last month's correspondence with profound satisfaction." The minister stated that the juntas' efforts would receive public recognition in Mexico: "It is ordered that the correspondence from this juntas, and this reply, be published, so that all the nation may properly appreciate at its true value the patriotic zeal of its worthy children in Alta California."<sup>26</sup> The correspondence among the local juntas, the Junta Central, and the respective authorities in Mexico—all made public in the Spanish-language

## Suscripcion de San José.

### MES DE ENERO.

B. Fernandez....\$	1 00	J. Norzagaray....	1 00
J. Ruiz .....	1 00	B. Sandoval.....	25
N. Mondragon....	2 00	S. Mesa.....	2 00
J. Olaeta.....	2 00	P. Arredondo....	50
F. Muñoz.....	1 00	A. Acosta.....	50
M. Marmolejo....	5 00		
P. Flores.....	1 00	Señoras.....	
F. Gutierrez....	1 00	T. D. de Casanova	1 00
J. Ortega.....	1 00	R. Vazquez.....	1 00
F. Fernandez (ca-		L. Zambrano....	50
lifornio).....	2 00	R. Ruiz.....	1 00
C. Castro.....	1 00	L. Mijares.....	1 00
M. Leiba.....	1 00	J. Tallor.....	1 00
J. Gonzalez.....	2 00	T. Ramos.....	1 00
A. Rodriguez.....	1 00	C. Córdova.....	50
F. Gomez (chileno)	1 00	I. Moreno.....	1 00
L. García.....	1 00	F. Oropesa.....	1 00
T. Ramirez.....	50	H. Duque.....	1 00
A. Jimenez.....	50	M. García.....	1 00
J. M. Lopez.....	25	D. Marmolejo....	1 00
G. Weingarden(ho-		M. Martinez.....	50
landés).....	1 00	J. Arvisu.....	50
M. Noriega (cali-		M. Galindo.....	50
fornio).....	1 00	J. Villarruel....	1 00
J. M. Benavente....	1 00	H. Arredondo....	50
L. Muñoz(chileno)	50	R. Jirado.....	50
M. Romo.....	1 00	G. Aldama.....	1 00
E. Gallego.....	1 00	M. Galindo.....	25
V. Perez.....	1 00		
J. R. Vazquez (ca-		Suma.....\$	55 75
lifornio).....	1 00	Pagado al Express	50
R. Gonzalez.....	50		
M. Benitez.....	1 00	Suma.....\$	55 25
F. Plata.....	50		

### RESUMEN.

San Francisco.....	\$ 5 00
San José.....	55 25
Suma anterior.....	1224 77
Total recibido.....	\$1285 02

The January 1863 subscription list for the San José junta, published in *La Voz de Méjico*, shows the organization of such records during this period. Males were noted separately from females; some donors were further identified as "Californio," "Chileno," and even one "Holandés" from the Netherlands.

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press—inspired still greater participation by Latinos in California. From then on, the Junta Central sent approximately \$1,000 to Mexico every two weeks or so.

Through the juntas, ordinary citizens undertook an extraordinary responsibility: harnessing the economic power of the state's working Latino population to advance a political cause. The juntas helped California's Latinos—many of

whom literally were digging wealth out of the earth—divert a small portion of their earnings to the republican cause in Mexico. In general, each junta's members individually pledged to donate a sum each month, and the junta's collector (*recaudador*) gathered the funds. The names of those who actually paid up were published periodically in one of the Spanish-language newspapers.

## ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF THE JUNTAS

The processes involved in setting up a junta were quite similar from community to community. The organization of the junta in Marysville was typical. On October 19, 1862, within a few months of the formation of the Placerville junta, a number of Mexican citizens met at the house of Martín Murillo. Addressing the group, Pablo Solorzano first denounced Napoleon III's scheme to intervene in Mexican governance, then invited his *compatriotas* to contribute to Mexico's defense. "We have believed it fitting to nominate a junta to build upon the laudable feelings of our compatriots in this county, so that each, according to his ability, may sign up for the monthly payments he may judge to be appropriate." The attendees were moved to nominate and approve by a voice vote Juan Nepomuceno Leal as their president. Taking charge of the meeting, Leal chaired the election of the remaining officers: secretary, first and second board members, and treasurer, all selected by a majority voice vote. A Señor Granizón proposed that the members "sign up for their monthly payments for the purposes already proposed, which was carried out immediately." Leal then asked those present to bring their actual donations to the next meeting so that the money could be sent to the Junta Central in San Francisco, which then would forward the funds to Mexico. This agreed upon, the meeting was adjourned.<sup>27</sup>



A newly organized junta generally announced its founding by communicating its *acta de organización* to *La Voz de Méjico* or, after June 1864, *El Nuevo Mundo*, which became the semi-official organs of the juntas in California and Nevada. When the bylaws of a junta were published in at least one of the Spanish-language papers in San Francisco, other juntas could comment upon them. For example, Article 4 of the bylaws of the junta in Chinese Camp was considered a bit coercive by other juntas, as the following comment demonstrates: "The fourth [article] states that payment of dues is mandatory for members; we assume that this 'mandate' is merely moral, for otherwise it does not seem proper to us that they be compelled by urging them too strongly."<sup>28</sup>

There were some variations in this basic organizing process. Some juntas elected female officers to contact other women, as did the junta in Sacramento, which, upon electing an all-male board, "immediately provided that the junta commission two ladies to collect voluntary donations among the ladies of this capital . . . and Doña Josefa Cienfuegos and Doña Altagracia Liceo were elected." Another variation accommodated the realities of life in small, dispersed, and highly mobile mining settlements. The junta in Hornitos named a collector for the town itself, who also was to collect from each of the more ephemeral mining camps within a day's journey: Mariposa, Oso, the mines of Santa Cruz and Banderitas, and the Merced River camp.<sup>29</sup>

Local juntas also raised funds for local activities, such as the celebration of Mexican Independence Day, and accountability for these uses was kept at the local level. Most often, this consisted of the publication in a Spanish-language newspaper of the contributors' names and the amounts they gave, as well as a listing of the costs incurred, with a summary of surplus or deficit following the actual celebrations. A typical example was the Mexican Independence Day celebration in San Andrés in 1865. A total of \$380.25 was collected,

primarily from the town of San Andrés but also from the mining settlements of Camp Calaveritas, San Antonio, Calaveras, Camp Melones, and Union Camp. Altogether, seventy-five individual donors were listed in the April 6, 1866, issue of *El Nuevo Mundo*. Contributions ranged from the ten dollars given by Javier Salcido of Camp Calaveras to the twenty-five-cent donation by Eduardo Lozano from Union Camp; the most common amount was one dollar. The expenses included a marching band (\$130.00), fireworks (\$41.00), gunpowder for artillery salutes (\$9.50), six barrels of beer (\$30.00), fuel for lamps for the nighttime parade (\$20.50), the construction of triumphal arches (\$31.75), a dance band (\$40.00), and so on, down to \$1.50 for a telegram and \$1.50 for a portrait of President Juárez. The total cost of the celebration was reported as \$449.37, which unfortunately left the junta with a deficit of \$69.12. No information was given about plans to make up the loss.<sup>30</sup>

Occasionally, junta money was handled inappropriately; it was then up to the members to bring mismanagement to public attention, again in the pages of the Spanish-language newspapers. For example, when the president of the junta in Mokelumne Hill was also elected its treasurer, several junta members complained in a published letter: "Why does the president, Don José de la Rosa, order the interim treasurer, Don José de la Rosa, to provide an accounting of the income and outlay that the treasury has had in his charge? . . . The office of president is incompatible with that of treasurer in any well-organized society. What would be said if the president of a republic were also the minister of finance?"<sup>31</sup>

Far from being part of the social and economic elite, junta members and officers very typically were working Latinos of the 1860s: miners, muleteers, cowboys, laborers, cooks, housewives. While the San Francisco and Los Angeles juntas could boast of prominent members among



As subscribing members, women provided financial support to the juntas and took part in junta-sponsored events. In some communities, such as San Francisco, the all-male officers of the junta appointed women to collect the contributions of other female members. Yet the women of other communities, not to be outdone, formed all-female juntas of their own in places with established, male-officered juntas, such as Los Angeles and a number of mining communities like Sonora (Tuolumne County). In these juntas de señoras, women exercised authority as junta officers and sponsored junta activities typical of the time. Hipólita Orendain de Medina (left) was an active member of the male-officered San Francisco junta. Teresa Salas (right) was a member of the junta de señoras in Sonora.

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them—foreign consuls, businessmen, physicians, artists, editors, poets, writers, and the like—members of most juntas worked with their hands. The junta of Nuevo Almadén characterized its members in the following manner: “The Mexicans who live here now, we are poor, for we earn our living with the sweat of our labor; but we have organized ourselves into patriotic societies.”<sup>32</sup>

Participants’ lack of education occasionally affected junta proceedings. When the women living at the Guadalupe mine in Santa Clara County met to establish a *junta de señoras* (women’s junta), they enthusiastically elected one of their number, Donaciana Diocio de García, as president. But their search for a secretary was stymied when they discovered that “there was not a single one of the ladies who knew how to

write.” Undaunted, they turned to a male friend, Facundo Orosco y Castelo, and by a unanimous voice vote elected him secretary, as there was no “one else who might fulfill the office.” In another example, a public letter from the junta of Napa in 1866 was signed by six members, but a postscript added, “I place below the names of those who don’t know how to sign their names, but who are in agreement,” followed by the names of twenty-one illiterate members.<sup>33</sup>

A Mexico City newspaper, *Siglo XIX*, noted that California’s junta members, by and large, lived from their labor. “Among them there are no powerful capitalists or wealthy businessmen. Almost all of them are craftsmen, farm workers, miners, who earn little and who deprive their families in order to send their donations for the defense of their homeland.” Yet in spite of their low income and long working hours, “they have continued organizing themselves into juntas patrióticas in all the towns.”<sup>34</sup>

## EXPANSION

The published activities of the juntas patrióticas during this era suggest a population informed about civic responsibilities and engaged in local, national, and international affairs. Despite repressive economic and political policies, California’s Latinos maintained an interest in political life and created organizations that allowed them to exercise that interest. But the juntas’ records do more than provide much-needed narrative information about the social and political lives of California’s Latinos. They offer solid demographic evidence about their populations’ size, geographic distribution, and cosmopolitan character. Rather than showing a community in decline, analysis of junta membership reveals Latino communities throughout the state, not just in the traditional coastal enclaves, and an expanding Latino population.



The Spanish-language press mentions 129 locations for organized juntas patrióticas in California, Oregon, and Nevada in the years between 1862 and 1867. A surprisingly strong presence of Latinos in the gold-mining areas of the Sierra Nevada foothills produced the majority of juntas in California, from Downieville in the northern mining district to Hornitos in the south, with a preponderance of juntas in the southern district (see map on page 14). A string of juntas in the larger towns served as “jumping-off” points for miners heading farther into the mountains: Yreka, Red Bluff, Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton, and French Camp. Juntas ringed the San Francisco Bay Area from Sonoma and Napa in the north, to Mount Diablo, Pinole, San Leandro, and Alvarado in the east, to San José and San Juan Bautista in the south. In southern California, juntas were located only in San Luis Obispo, San Pedro, Wilmington, and Los Angeles.<sup>35</sup>

A primary data set constructed from the published accounts of junta activities in the Spanish-language press identifies a junta membership of 13,855 between 1862 and 1867 in these states.<sup>36</sup> Inherent in this data set are limitations that must be taken into consideration when drawing conclusions about the size and location of the Latino population. The first limitation concerns the use of published lists of junta members. These records most likely understate the extent of Latino expansion. To begin with, some cities of significant size apparently never organized a junta during this period. Santa Barbara and San Diego, long-standing centers of Latino population and civil life, were never mentioned in the Spanish-language press as locations of any junta patriótica. Oddly, however, Santa Barbara did establish a junta well after this period, in 1873.

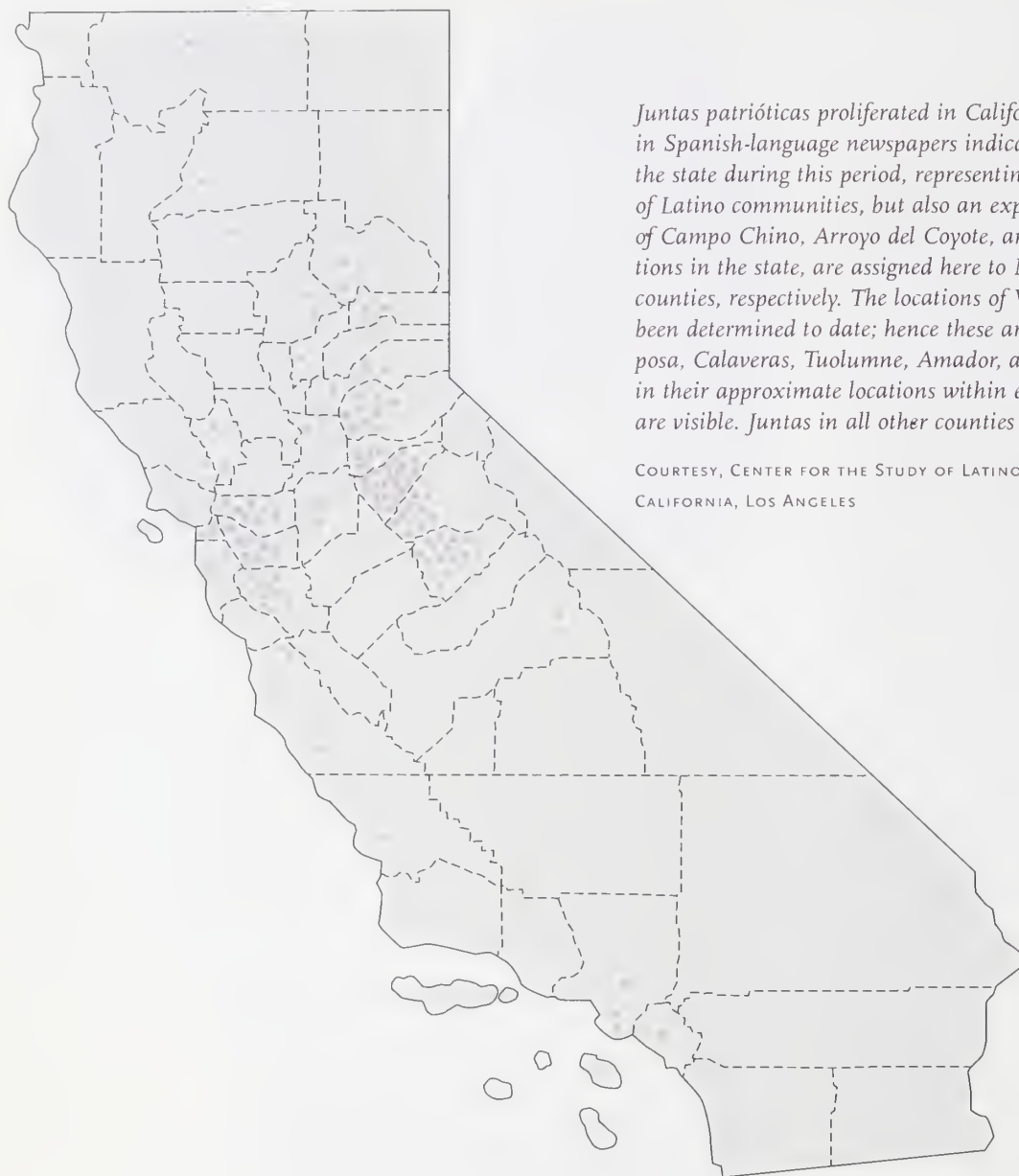
The second limitation, frustrating for modern analysts, is the failure of the Spanish-language press to publish all the information sent to them by the local juntas. In 1865, the junta in Wilmington complained in a public letter that one

Spanish-language newspaper “has not published the minutes and various documents that we have sent them.” Conversely, at times the newspapers’ editors received more correspondence from the juntas than they could print.<sup>37</sup> Or months might pass without the publication of a junta’s subscription list, causing a loss of subscribers’ names.

Finally, the Spanish-language newspaper holdings available today are incomplete. For example, although *El Nuevo Mundo* was published continuously from June 1864 to May 1868, only two issues survive from May 1866 to May 1868, thus depriving the analysis of nearly two years’ worth of membership listings. Only scattered issues exist of *La Voz de Chile*, *La Voz de Chile y el Nuevo Mundo*, *El Observador*, *La Prensa Mexicana*, *El Republicano*, and *El Tiempo*. Other newspapers simply are not available or to date have not been located, as is the case with *El Correo de San Francisco*, whose existence was mentioned by other Spanish-language papers.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, our information about population distribution is suggestive but incomplete. There could have been more juntas and members and more robust a presence of Latinos in this ostensible “period of decline” than we so far have identified. Despite these limitations, our research into the juntas and their published activities from 1848 to 1869 indicates a much wider geographic spread of the Latino population than traditionally has been imagined and implies a much larger Latino population overall than has been reported previously.

The largest single junta was that of Los Angeles, with 1,761 unduplicated member names on its list. This was followed by San Francisco (1,264 unduplicated names), Virginia City, Nevada (833), Hornitos (713), and the mine at New Almaden (643). On the other end of the scale, twenty-eight juntas reported fewer than ten subscribers each. The median number of junta subscribers was twenty-nine; half the juntas had more than this



*Juntas patrióticas proliferated in California between 1862 and 1867. Accounts in Spanish-language newspapers indicate 123 locations for organized juntas in the state during this period, representing not only the wide geographic spread of Latino communities, but also an expanding Latino population. The juntas of Campo Chino, Arroyo del Coyote, and Campo Seco, places of multiple locations in the state, are assigned here to Mariposa, El Dorado, and Tuolumne counties, respectively. The locations of Worth Hill and Argentinia have not been determined to date; hence these are not represented. The juntas in Mariposa, Calaveras, Tuolumne, Amador, and Santa Clara counties are depicted in their approximate locations within each county so that the individual dots are visible. Juntas in all other counties are shown in their precise locations.*

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number and half had fewer. The chart on page 17 documents every junta reporting, with its corresponding number of unduplicated names. All told, initial research has yielded 13,855 unduplicated names of subscribers who donated to the juntas patrióticas at least once from 1862 to 1867. This figure can serve as a basis for reassessing the size of the Latino population in California during this period.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, whom most historians of this issue cite directly or indirectly, estimated in 1886 that the 1848 Latino population in California was approximately 7,500, a figure that has been widely accepted. In 1998, William Mason,

using different methods, arrived at the same estimate of 7,500 persons of "Hispanic background" just prior to statehood. Following the announcement of the discovery of gold, some of the first miners in the gold fields were immigrants from Mexico, usually labeled "Sonorans," although many came from regions other than Sonora. In 1940, Doris Marion Wright used the 1850 observations of José Francisco Velasco, an official in Sonora, to estimate an influx of between 4,000 and 6,000 new Latinos. She concluded, however, that most of these immigrants returned to Mexico shortly after 1850, leaving a net residual population gain of approximately 1,250 new Lati-



nos. Many historians have based their narratives on her estimates, such as Albert Camarillo, who declared, "Thousands of Sonorans (estimated between 5,000 and 10,000 in the early 1850s), many of whom had traveled with their families, returned home."<sup>39</sup> The general impression has been that by the end of the 1850s, the Latino population ranged from 7,000 to 10,000 adults and children. We have evidence, however, of nearly 14,000 individual junta subscribers from 1862 to 1867 alone, most of whom were adult males. Clearly, the listed members represent only a fraction of the total Latino population, males, females, and children, in California during these years.

To add to this figure, we must consider those Latinos who were not members of a junta patriótica. Some Latinos in California are known to have supported the French Intervention in Mexico. "They write to us from Los Angeles that in that part of the state there also are bad Mexicans who sympathize with the French invaders," complained *La Voz de Méjico* in July 1862. These pro-French Latinos would not have been eager to join a junta. Domestic politics also filtered out possible members. By 1865, in addition to being anti-French, a junta member and supporter was practically required to be very pro-Union, anti-Confederate, and anti-slavery, and to support Lincoln's re-election. There were an unknown number of Latinos, particularly in the Los Angeles area, whose Confederate sympathies most likely kept them from membership. Still others might not have wanted, or have been able, to commit to a monthly financial pledge.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, our provisional list of 13,855 names, 12,926 in California—primarily adult, income-earning, anti-French, pro-Union Latino males—represents only some fraction of the total Latino population, with respect to age, gender, political persuasion, and economic status, in the state from 1862 to 1867. A comparison of these junta subscriber lists to the 1860 and 1870 U.S. censuses and

other regional data sets should yield a new and, most likely, significantly larger estimate of Latino population in California during this era.<sup>41</sup>

These years also saw an expansion of cultural identification, from a regional variant of Mexican cultural identity to a distinctively U.S. Latino one. Although derivative of, and in some ways still connected to, Mexican and Latin American culture and identity, this new perspective was increasingly independent and offered the possibility of a degree of bilingualism and biculturalism previously unthought of. Moreover, our research indicates that California's Latino population became much more cosmopolitan as a result of the Gold Rush. While many of the juntas were established in the 1860s to contribute to the Mexican effort against the French, their membership was not limited to Mexican citizens. Indeed, the Los Angeles junta specified from the beginning that "this Junta . . . will not be exclusively made up of Mexican citizens, but rather all the children of the other American republics . . . will be invited." Pioquinto Dávila, a Colombian immigrant, was a leading figure in the Los Angeles junta, as was Felipe Fierro, an immigrant from Chile, in San Francisco's junta. Rafael H. González began his 16th of September speech in Placerville by including all possible Latin American groups in his call to action: "Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, Colombians, New Granadeans, and all the children of Latin America, the heroes and martyrs of our independence call to us from the tomb."<sup>42</sup>

So careful were the juntas to be all-encompassing in their membership that when the San Francisco junta mistakenly sent out an invitation addressed only to Mexicans, its officers immediately offered an apology and reworded the invitation: "Inadvertently we invited only Mexicans in the summons we published in our last issue. We make the invitation today, for that day, to Mexicans and all other Spanish-Americans in general . . . in this country, when we say Spanish-American, we do

not consider where someone was born; rather, we embrace each other as brothers . . . we are sorry for our oversight.”<sup>43</sup>

A number of Californios were also members of juntas. As far as can be documented, the Los Angeles and Wilmington juntas, in particular, appear to have had the largest Californio membership. Of the 114 Latinos named in a subscription list compiled in Los Angeles after the 1863 fall of Puebla, thirty-five (31 percent) were identified specifically as Californios.<sup>44</sup> Some Californios, such as Francisco P. Ramírez, played very active roles in the juntas’ activities. Others, such as General Mariano G. Vallejo, played high-profile but less active roles, participating in activities but not in leadership. The Los Angeles junta also listed Yaqui and California Indians as members, as well as Atlantic-Americans (usually listed simply as “Americano”) and occasionally French, German, Portuguese, and Belgian immigrants.

While the juntas insisted that U.S.-citizen and immigrant Latinos shared the same fate, sometimes there was friction between these two population segments. One such conflict occurred in 1865, when the San Francisco junta voted to exclude from membership any Mexican who had acquired U.S. citizenship, on the grounds that a true Mexican patriot would never renounce Mexican citizenship. One member, Tomás Jewett, disputed this policy, arguing that, though born in Mexico, he was a U.S. citizen because his father was one. Although Jewett was assured that this restriction was not aimed at him, he nevertheless left the meeting in protest. A Californio, Francisco P. Ramírez, the young former editor of *El Clamor Público* who had moved to the predominantly immigrant San Francisco from the Californio-dominated society of Los Angeles, subsequently argued that this regulation could alienate Latinos like himself who had become U.S. citizens under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. So heated did this debate become that Ramírez and the major proponent of the restriction,

General Plácido Vega, the recently arrived special emissary from the Juárez government, resorted to fisticuffs after the meeting.<sup>45</sup>

## ENGAGEMENT

The juntas urged their members to greater political participation in both U.S. and Mexican politics. The last days of President Juárez’s term in late 1865 generated much interest among Latinos in California. In 1865, the junta patriótica in San Juan Bautista was the first to request that Mexican immigrants in the United States vote in a Mexican election. In a public letter, the secretary of the San Juan Bautista junta, one J. Higuera, noted that Latinos there had been actively involved in raising funds for the Juárez government. “In seventeen months, we have not let a single month pass without presenting our modest offering for the aid of those who so heroically defend the common cause. . . .”<sup>46</sup> He went on to urge the juntas in California to write to President Juárez and ask to be allowed to vote. “Let us request [it] via a petition signed by all and directed to Citizen President Benito Juárez, asking him for our votes to be admitted in the next election, making use of the goodwill of our consul, Don José Antonio Godoy, who can promote our petition.” Nonetheless, immigrant citizens of Mexico residing in the United States would not be allowed to vote in Mexican elections until 2005.<sup>47</sup>

Juárez’s decision to postpone the 1865 elections until the cessation of armed conflict was controversial. General Jesús González Ortega felt that, as president of the Supreme Court, he should be named interim president until new elections could be held.<sup>48</sup> General Antonio López de Santa Anna left his exile in France and moved to New York, apparently seeking to impose himself yet again as president of Mexico. The juntas in California viewed all this with alarm. They did not wish to stand by and watch Mexico’s solid political



## Las Juntas Patrióticas, 1862–1867: 13,855 Unduplicated Names

CALIFORNIA	COUNTY	SUBSCRIBERS
Algerin	Tuolumne	29
Alvarado	Alameda	174
Argentina	(unknown)	1
Arroyo del Coyote	El Dorado, Santa Clara	14
Arroyo del Pinol	Contra Costa	6
Auburn	Placer	9
Banderitas	Mariposa	56
Big Oak Flat	Tuolumne	22
Bolinas	Marin	2
Calaveras	Calaveras	29
Calaveritas	Calaveras	70
Campo Americano	Tuolumne	18
Campo Chino	Mariposa, Tuolumne	123
Campo de la Union	Amador	10
Campo de los Perros	Calaveras	17
Campo de Melonez	Calaveras	6
Campo del Colorado and Feliciana*†	Mariposa	16
Campo Frances	San Joaquin	11
Campo Jack	Tuolumne	40
Campo Seco	Tuolumne, Calaveras	40
Cañada del Negro	Calaveras	3
Centreville	El Dorado	4
Chile Gulch	Calaveras	80
Columbia	Tuolumne	97
Condada and La Feliciana*†	Mariposa	52
Copperopolis	Calaveras	10
Coulterville	Mariposa	21
Cuya	Santa Clara	15
District of Washington	Alameda	20
Dorado	El Dorado	19
Downieville	Sierra	11
Drytown	Amador	30
El Oso	Mariposa	109
El Pinole	Contra Costa	13
Enriqueta	Santa Clara	214
Escorpion	Tuolumne	5
Fiddle Town	Amador	21
Forbestown	Butte	84
Forest Hill	Placer	94
Georgetown	El Dorado	63
Greasertown	Mariposa	36
Greenwood	El Dorado	50
Guadalupe	Santa Clara	168
Hacienda de Nuevo Almaden	Santa Clara	145
Half Moon Bay	San Mateo	55
Hornitos	Mariposa	713
Indian Gulch	Mariposa	10
Jackson	Amador	170
Jamestown	Tuolumne	46
Jenny Lynd (Jenny Lind)	Calaveras	108
Jesus Maria	Calaveras	20
La Porte	Plumas	157
Lancha Plancha	Calaveras	45
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	1,761
Mariposa	Mariposa	129
Marmolitos	Calaveras	34
Martinez	Contra Costa	36
Marysville	Yuba	411
Mayfield	Santa Clara	41
Michigan Bluffs	Placer	14
Mina de Guadalupe	Mariposa	58
Mina de Nuevo Almaden	Santa Clara	643
Minta, Colorado, and El Mono*†	Mariposa	14

CALIFORNIA, CON'T	COUNTY	SUBSCRIBERS
Mission Dolores	San Francisco	39
Mokelumne Hill	Calaveras	331
Monte del Diablo and Pacheco*	Contra Costa	6
Montezuma	Tuolumne	26
Murphy's	Calaveras	110
Napa City	Napa	85
(not identified)		680
Nuevo Almaden (town)	Santa Clara	456
Ocean View	Alameda	41
Pachecoville	Contra Costa	15
Papa Valley	Napa	10
Pilot Hill	El Dorado	6
Placerville	El Dorado	269
Princeton	Mariposa	20
Rancho de Amador	Amador	11
Rancho de Sunol	Alameda	51
Rancho del Pinole	Contra Costa	18
Rancho Español	Plumas	5
Red Bluff	Tehama	21
Rio de Mercedes	Mariposa	27
Robinson Ferry	Calaveras	27
Sacramento City	Sacramento	348
Salamandra	Calaveras	6
San Andres	Calaveras	332
San Antonio	Calaveras	36
San Antonio	Monterey	80
San Domingo	Calaveras	1
San Francisco	San Francisco	1,264
San Francisquito	Santa Clara	16
San Jose	Santa Clara	213
San Juan Bautista	Monterey	259
San Leandro	Alameda	2
San Lorenzo and Hayward*	Alameda	6
San Luis Obispo	San Luis Obispo	173
San Mateo	San Mateo	92
San Pablo	Contra Costa	20
San Pedro Nuevo	Los Angeles	16
Sandy Gulch	Calaveras	1
Santa Ana	Orange	24
Santa Clara	Santa Clara	9
Santa Cruz	Mariposa	76
Seventy-Six	Fresno	18
Shasta	Shasta	4
Sierra City	Sierra	4
Sonoma	Sonoma	9
Sonora	Tuolumne	418
Spanish Dry Diggings	El Dorado	44
Spanish Flat	El Dorado	19
Stockton	San Joaquin	91
Sutter Creek	Amador	69
Vallecito	Calaveras	69
Watsonville	Monterey	101
West Point	Calaveras	210
Wilmington	Los Angeles	70
Worth Hill	(unknown)	6
Yankee Hill	Butte	16
Yreka	Siskiyou	28
UNOPLICATED NAME COUNT		12,926
NEVADA AND OREGON	STATE	SUBSCRIBERS
Austin	Nevada	1
The Dalles	Oregon	16
Gullmoque	Nevada	12
Reese River	Nevada	63
Silver City	Nevada	4
Virginia City	Nevada	833
UNOPLICATED NAME COUNT		929

\*Count each as a separate junta; memberships for these juntas are reported jointly

†Although they appear more than once, Colorado and Feliciana each count as a single location.

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front in the face of the French invaders crumble over the issue of elections. Quickly, a number of juntas made public their support of Juárez's postponement of elections. The members of San Francisco's junta declared that "the loyal Mexicans living in San Francisco report to Citizen President of the Republic Benito Juárez, demonstrating to him the satisfaction with which they have been inspired by the decree given in El Paso del Norte on November 8 of last year, resolving to extend his term serving in the highest office in the nation (fixed by the Fundamental Code) until such a time as the state of war that presently exists against the foreign invader may allow a constitutional election to be held." Other juntas followed suit, including the one in Los Angeles, which added more than two hundred signatures to its letter published in *El Nuevo Mundo*.<sup>49</sup>

There was equal focus on events in the United States. In 1864, President Lincoln's re-election during the Civil War was far from a foregone conclusion; a "peace wing" of the Democratic party urged that the government broker an immediate cease fire with the Confederate government, and Democratic candidate General George McClellan favored immediate withdrawal of Federal troops from the Confederate states. The juntas supported Lincoln and the Union cause in no uncertain terms. An editorial in *La Voz de Méjico* urged those Latinos with U.S. citizenship to support Lincoln and compared McClellan to Mexicans who collaborated with the French: "To those Spanish-Americans who have the vote in California: The hour draws near when you will be called upon to make use of your rights as American citizens, and to decide the outcome of the struggle which has spilled the blood and treasure of this country for four years in a war fostered and begun by Southern traitors. . . . George B. McClellan was then, and always has been, a traitor worse than Almonte and Márquez." Junta leaders in San Francisco, Sacramento, Placerville, and Marysville formed a political caucus, the

*Unionista Hispano Americano de Lincoln y Johnson*, and Latinos turned out to participate in heated political marches in support of Lincoln.<sup>50</sup>

But the activities and interests of the juntas were not restricted to issues outside the state. The organized voice of the juntas sought justice for California's Latinos when no other institution would help them. Perhaps because justice was sometimes in rare supply, the bylaws of a number of juntas added civil rights protection as one of the benefits of being a member. The junta in Hornitos specified in its bylaws that "These funds are designated exclusively to help those made unfortunate by illness, prison, or death . . . if any of its members happens to end up in prison, the Club will procure his liberty."<sup>51</sup>

Juntas sometimes intervened in the defense of Latinos accused of crimes. In 1864, Ramón Velázquez, a Latino miner working a claim near the gold-mining town of Sonora in Tuolumne County, was sentenced to die for killing a Chinese immigrant. Seeking redress, Velázquez turned to the local junta for help.<sup>52</sup> The Sonora officers wrote to other juntas, bringing the case to their attention, "by virtue of the prisoner's having directed a petition to the said junta, asking that its members, in the interest of justice, be kind enough to contribute in some way to saving him from the unmerited penalty that the law, poorly administered, has imposed upon him." The juntas in Hornitos, Rio de Mercedes, Martinez, and San Francisco donated to Velázquez's appeal. Their combined efforts raised \$250 to hire an attorney and pressed for the involvement of President Juárez's emissary Plácido Vega and California state treasurer Romualdo Pacheco, scion of an old Californio family. "Such efforts on the part of Señor Pacheco will be appreciated by all Mexicans who may become aware of this event." A stay of execution was granted and the case re-examined. Unfortunately for Velázquez, the state's examiner declared that all was in order, and Velázquez was quickly executed.



Sonora's junta nevertheless published a letter in *La Voz de Méjico* thanking those who had tried to remedy what they had seen as a miscarriage of justice. "We thank Señor General Vega and all the other friends and true gentlemen who, from the moment they learned that a Mexican was suffering under the horrible burden of a death sentence, have not omitted any sacrifice in order to have the satisfaction of saving him, or, at the least, in order that a ray of solace might penetrate the dark prison of Ramón Velázquez."<sup>53</sup>

Juntas also engaged in more general Latino-based philanthropy, raising money for the benefit of those in economic distress. According to an editorial published in *El Nuevo Mundo*, "The juntas patrióticas can do much good for the very Mexicans who live in this country." Manuel E. Rodríguez, the editor of *La Voz de Méjico*, reminded juntas that "the patriotic associations exist . . . to provide us with mutual aid . . . so that each and every one of the members may know himself more than [merely] a friend, [but rather] a brother."<sup>54</sup> Such local benefits could take many forms. The junta at the New Almaden mine tried to organize a community food cooperative, through a *caja de ahorros* (credit union), to compete with the mining company's *tienda de raya* (company store), which was selling food and other provisions at very high prices. "The Mexicans of New Almaden have planned to establish among themselves a credit union, investing the funds each person can manage to save, for establishing and stocking a store for basic necessities." They had realized that they had economic strength in numbers far beyond the means of any single individual: "Let us unite ourselves, so that, with a little effort, we may form an association. . . ."<sup>55</sup>

Sick benefits, too, were attempted in a number of forms. Given the complete lack of any public support or insurance systems in the nineteenth century, people out of work due to illness or other causes could run a very real risk of starving

to death. The juntas often agreed to provide basic food and shelter for sick members who thereby could avoid the humiliation of public charity. "As soon as news is received that any member is sick, the president will name a commission composed of three individuals, who should go to the sufferer's house, not only to visit him in the name of the club, but also to offer the services of the Society." The junta in Mokelumne Hill bought a house for \$750 from Juana Ureta de Berna to establish a home for the ill, aged, and infirm, "So that the said property . . . may be the first step towards the promotion and realization of the great idea and reality of mutual benefits, as well as serving as a refuge from misfortune, misery, and poverty." The final benefit, of course, was a proper funeral. During the tumultuous days of the Gold Rush, it was not unknown for a recently arrived stranger stricken by a mortal illness—cholera, apoplexy, smallpox—to suffer the indignity of being buried anonymously in a public graveyard. Being a member of a junta provided insurance against the potter's field, providing instead for a dignified burial in a recognized location. "In case of death, all the members of the Club will accompany the body to its final resting place. . . ."<sup>56</sup>

The case of Ramón Soto illustrates the comprehensiveness of benefits and the inclusive nature of the juntas. An immigrant from Santiago, Chile, most likely a miner, he fell ill in Sacramento and received "the aid of the Mexican Patriotic Club and of other Spanish-Americans living in this place." In spite of this, he died on March 25, 1866, aged only thirty-six. Supported by this web of friendship and assistance, "his body was accompanied to the cemetery."<sup>57</sup>

Nor did the juntas always limit their philanthropy and benefits to officially enrolled members. From the early days of the Gold Rush, Latinos organized subscription lists to provide assistance to other Latinos who had fallen upon hard times. As the juntas developed, they provided a more efficient

way of practicing intra-Latino philanthropy. At her wit's end, Rosalía Bernales de Sánchez of San Francisco ran a small ad in *El Nuevo Mundo* imploring assistance: "She finds herself overcome by illness, without resources; she begs Christian charity of all good-hearted persons who may wish to help her in her sad state." The junta in San Andrés, after collecting its usual subscriptions for Juárez's troops in Mexico, took up a special collection for Señora Bernales de Sánchez and was able to provide her with the sum of \$3.50.<sup>58</sup>

## CHANGE AND CONTINUITY AFTER MAXIMILIAN

During the French Intervention, the fight against the invaders provided a unifying element around which all but dedicated Francophile Latinos could rally. Yet the capture, trial, and execution of Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, in 1867 proved to be the beginning of Juárez's post-Maximilian problems. The common enemy now dispatched, general after general revolted against Juárez and his policies, issued pronouncements, raised troops, and wrought havoc on a society still reeling from six years of French occupation.

Mexico's internal difficulties did not have the cachet of a fight against an outside aggressor. With the sudden absence of this intensely unifying dynamic, the juntas lost much of their ability to rally California's Latinos around one common cause. The Junta Central Directiva disappeared from sight once there was no longer a need to forward money to Mexico. The two major Spanish-language newspapers used by the juntas for public communication disappeared: *La Voz de Méjico* ceased publication entirely, and *El Nuevo Mundo* merged with another paper, *La Voz de Chile*. Coverage of junta activities was drastically curtailed. *La Crónica*, a Los Angeles-based paper that began publication right after this period, sometimes published notices of junta activities, but these comprised a very small fraction of all

the news items carried during this time of rapid Latino urbanization, from 1872 to 1892.

Yet the juntas continued to be a force in many Latino communities. The junta at the New Almaden mine provides a typical history. From 1862 to 1866, it provided community activities for thousands of local Latinos: joyous Cinco de Mayo festivities celebrating the Mexican victory over the French at the 1862 Battle of Puebla, formation of a local militia complete with uniforms, the organization of a community-based food cooperative, an amateur theater group, annual September 16 parades commemorating Mexico's independence, a mutual benefits association, dances, and music, as well as donations to aid Juárez in his battle against the French. But ground down by time, flagging interest, and employment problems—strikes at the mine, changes of mine ownership, labor force reductions—the junta "was paralyzed, in consequence of the greater part of the members who had composed it having left the area because they did not have jobs, which is the only resort that industrious Mexicans have in this town." After a year of dormancy, a period that included Juárez's triumph over Maximilian, a few surviving members tried to breathe life into the formerly vital organization. As they formed a new slate of officers, they continued the tradition of cosmopolitanism by opening the junta to all Latinos who desired membership, as long as they had employment: "All persons who have work will be admitted into this body, without distinction of sex, age, or nationality, as long as they are Spanish-American."<sup>59</sup>

After the boom of the Gold Rush, an inevitable bust set in, and the population of the gold country plummeted. Many residents moved to the Central Valley and the coastal areas, leaving dozens of ghost towns in the mining areas of the mountains. Latinos were among those leaving for other strikes—in Inyo County, Nevada, Colorado, Arizona, and even, ironically, Mexico itself—and



many juntas in northern California ceased to function. Juntas in other areas were heard of after Juárez's triumph, if only sporadically. After 1869, juntas were mentioned in the Spanish-language press most often for their widely celebrated Mexican Independence Day festivities. Santa Barbara's junta was established in 1873, as other juntas were fading from view, apparently for just this purpose.<sup>60</sup>

The junta in Los Angeles, on the other hand, showed remarkable continuity, sponsoring Mexican Independence Day celebrations from 1845 to 1913 that grew larger nearly every year. Indeed, so important had the observance become in the city that the junta patriótica competed with rival organizations and celebrations during the early years of the twentieth century. Celebrations were organized in 1901 by the Club Mexicano Porfirio Díaz under the sponsorship of the Mexican consulate, in 1903 by the Club Cura Hidalgo, and in 1905 by the Sons of Montezuma.<sup>61</sup> While the junta patriótica in Los Angeles continued to exist as a corporation until 1923, newer organizations seized the Mexican Independence Day baton after 1914.

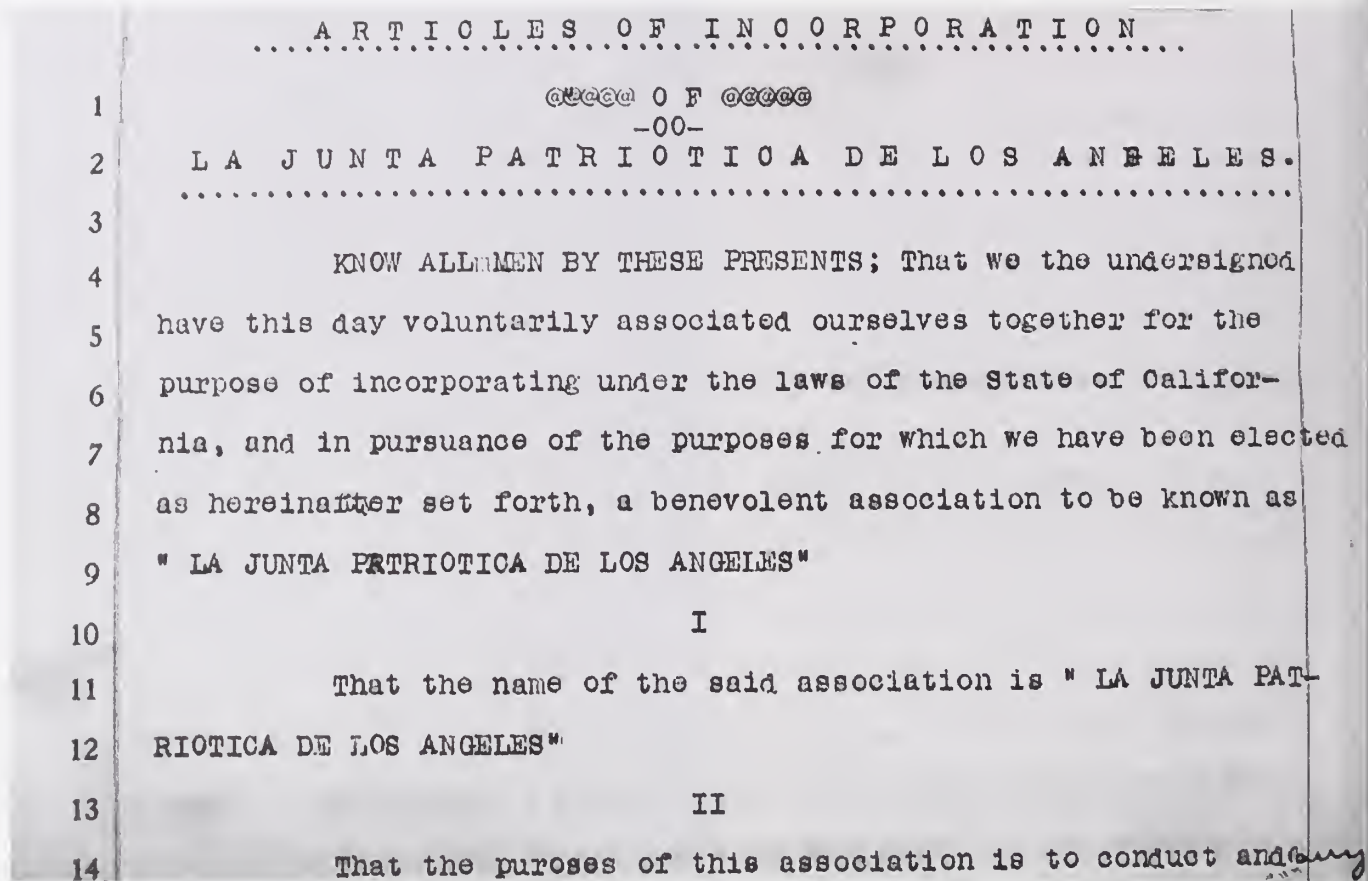
## THE LEGACIES

Although they died out as the twentieth century dawned, California's juntas patrióticas left indelible marks on Latino society and culture throughout the state. The *Sociedades Hispano-Americanas de Beneficencia Mutua* (Hispanic-American Mutual Aid Societies), founded in 1875, for example, were largely formed as an outgrowth of the philanthropic activities begun by various juntas in the 1860s. Although the first mutual-benefits society had been established in San Francisco as early as 1860, most of them flourished from the 1870s to the 1890s, after which other organizations took up the care of the Latino community. In the social sphere, one memorable legacy of the juntas is the establishment and continuing celebration of Cinco de Mayo. Indeed, this



*During the 1877 Mexican Independence Day festivities in Los Angeles, junta members Refugio Botello (left) and María Ygnacia Botello, costumed as "America" (center), were photographed with José López (right), a Mexican citizen attending the celebrations. The Los Angeles junta sponsored the annual Independence Day events every September from 1845 to 1913. This photograph is the most closely related artifact to an actual junta-sponsored event in the nineteenth century that has been identified.*

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*One of the last evidences of the juntas patrióticas' existence is the 1913 Articles of Incorporation of the Los Angeles junta. It is a record of the junta's longevity. The modern organizations that have taken up the baton of the juntas are among the primary legacies of the juntas' role in the empowerment, expansion, and engagement of California's Latino population.*

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could be considered the first generally Latino, as opposed to strictly Mexican, holiday. Although Mexican Independence Day had been celebrated while California was part of Mexico, the juntas in California developed a bilingual, binational celebration of Cinco de Mayo that was very different from the nationalistic, paramilitary celebration that developed south of the border. In fact, Cinco de Mayo is a far bigger event in California today than it is in Mexico, probably, in part, because it was truly a Latino holiday "made in the USA."<sup>62</sup>

A legacy of great import for the development of Latino culture and society in the state is the organizational link joining immigrant and U.S.-born Latinos. A common perception by historians is

that Californios refused to mix with immigrant Mexicans, but the juntas' records show a great many activities that brought these two population segments into repeated, close, conscious contact. One example is the 1863 celebration of Mexican Independence Day in Los Angeles, in which Californios, Mexican immigrants, and other Latinos participated: "From all the ranches and locations of the interior the Californios and the Mexicans came with their families, in their finest dress, to attend the public events by which the junta patriótica wished to commemorate the great memories that this day evokes in the minds of all Mexicans."<sup>63</sup> Through their various activities, the juntas connected the daily lives of



the second- and third-generation Latinos born in California with those of more recently arrived first-generation immigrants.

Finally, by giving average Latino citizens opportunities to exercise uncommon responsibilities, the juntas provided a laboratory for the production of Latino leadership. Many Latino leaders active in California during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s received their first leadership experience in the juntas patrióticas. They, in turn, formed organizations that nurtured the Latino leaders of the early twentieth century. This chain of leadership is seen clearly in the records of the Los Angeles junta. Antonio F. Coronel occupied leadership positions in this junta from 1845 to 1888. He was also, in 1878, the president of the Sociedad Hispano-Americana de Beneficencia Mutua. Joining him in 1878 was a younger Latino, J. J. Carrillo, who also occupied leadership positions in the Los Angeles junta from 1875 to 1896. After the Sociedad Hispano-Americana de Beneficencia Mutua declined in the early 1890s, a newer generation of former junta officers established a successor organization, the Court of Columbus, a Spanish-speaking chapter of the North American fraternal group the Foresters of America. Francisco del Pozo, who had been an officer of the junta from 1875 to 1902, was a founding member in 1893. Another founding member was A. J. Florez, a junta officer since 1888. In 1916, the Alianza Hispano-Americana, an independent Latino mutual-benefits society, moved its headquarters from Arizona to California. Among its officers were L. R. Montana, who as a child had delivered a speech for the junta patriótica nearly forty years earlier, in 1873, and M. Campuzano, who had been an officer in the junta since 1902. The Alianza existed in California until 1955. These organizations developed Latino leaders of the "Chicano generation" of the 1960s, some of whom, ironically, rejected this legacy as being too "accommodationist." They, in turn, spawned a generation of national and local agencies—such

as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), Los Angeles; La Clínica de la Raza, Oakland; and the National Council of La Raza, Washington, D.C.—that still are shaping Latino leadership in the twenty-first century. This uninterrupted line of leadership, really, is the greatest legacy of the juntas patrióticas.<sup>64</sup>

DAVID E. HAYES-BAUTISTA is Professor of Medicine and Director of the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture (CESLAC) at the David Geffen School of Medicine at the University of California, Los Angeles. His research focuses on the relation between culture, behavior, and health outcomes in Latino populations. Since the release of his 2004 book, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State* (University of California Press), he has embarked on research in historical epidemiology and the historical demography of California's Latino populations, with an emphasis on the period between 1850 and 1930. He received his BA in Sociology from the University of California, Berkeley, and his MA and PhD in Medical Sociology from the University of California Medical Center, San Francisco. He was on the faculty of the School of Public Health at UC Berkeley from 1972 to 1986 and has been at UCLA since 1986. CYNTHIA L. CHAMBERLIN, research historian at CESLAC, received her BA in English and Hispanic Studies from Brown University in 1983 and her MA and CPhil in history from UCLA in 1991 and 1992. She is a co-author of *Searching for the Secrets of Nature: The Life and Works of Dr. Francisco Hernández* (Stanford University Press, 2000). Her current research involves the 1856 "riot" in Los Angeles. BRANDEN JONES, an undergraduate at the University of Idaho, was a research assistant at CESLAC from 2003 to 2006 and was responsible for the overall development of the data files on the junta membership. JUAN CARLOS CORNEJO, a research assistant at CESLAC from 2002 to 2006, helped extract junta membership information. CECILIA CAÑADAS, who graduated from UCLA in 2005, is currently a research assistant at CESLAC and helped extract junta membership information. CARLOS MARTINEZ, who graduated from UCLA in 2005, was a research assistant at CESLAC and helped extract junta membership information. GLORIA MEZA, a staff member at CESLAC, helped extract junta membership information.

# Mary Austin and Andrew Forbes

## Poetry, Photography, and the Eastern Sierra

BY KAREN S. LANGLOIS

The origin of mountain streams is like the origin of tears, patent to the understanding but mysterious to the sense," Mary Austin wrote of the snow-fed rivers that cascaded down the sheer gorges of the Eastern Sierra. The haunting beauty of the pristine streams and dramatic crests "blotched dark with pines and white with snow" provided the aesthetic inspiration for the poetry she composed while living in the shadow of the mountains. The compelling landscape also drew the photographer Andrew Forbes to the area. He recorded many exceptional scenes in a stunning collection of photographic views taken after his arrival at the turn of the century. From 1902 to 1906, the lives of Austin and Forbes overlapped in the Owens Valley; each documented the natural beauty of the Eastern Sierra south of Yosemite as they pursued their art.<sup>1</sup>

Mary Hunter Austin (1868–1934) is best known today for her 1903 classic, *The Land of Little Rain*, story sketches describing and interpreting the Eastern Sierra region. On the basis of this book and other nature writing, she is often ranked

with Henry David Thoreau and John Muir as a naturalist. In all, she authored some thirty books and wrote in a wide variety of forms, including poems, plays, novels, short stories, articles, and reviews. Many of her most important works are currently in print, but much of the poetry written during the period when she lived in the Owens Valley is little known. This essay adds to the published record—set down in Austin's autobiography, *Earth Horizon*, and in subsequent biographies—and includes a number of her previously unpublished poems. It is the first attempt to integrate some of the poems written during this time with the biographical information.<sup>2</sup>

*The unique landscape of the Eastern Sierra inspired the artistic imaginations of the poet Mary Austin and the photographer Andrew Forbes. Forbes photographed the jagged peaks and ridges overlooking South Lake, set in a glacial basin southwest of Bishop at an altitude of 9,755 feet. The lake of the Eastern Sierra, Austin wrote, "is the eye of the mountain, jade green, placid, unwinking, also unfathomable . . ."*

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South Lake Bishop Cal 247

A.A. Forbes  
Photo

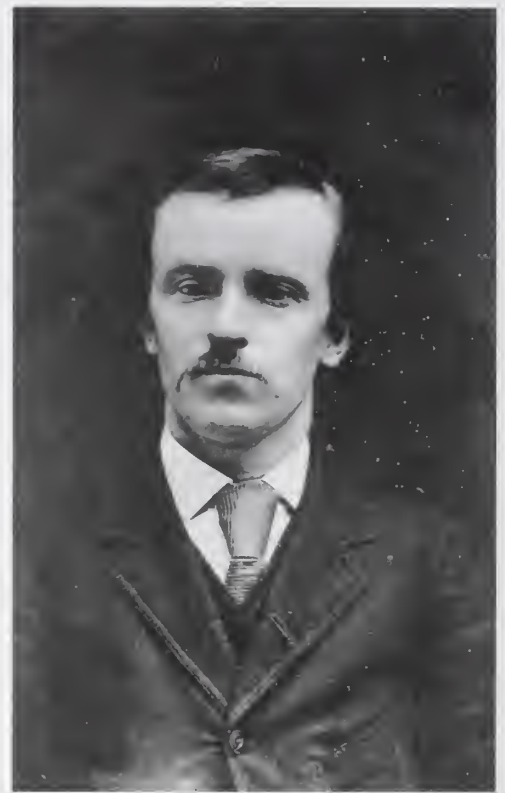
Andrew Alexander Forbes (1862–1921) is remembered for his dramatic photographs of the fourth Oklahoma land run in September 1893, when 100,000 homesteaders dashed for free land in the “Cherokee Strip.” A collection of his western images includes hundreds of panoramic views, photographs, and postcards made during his years in the Eastern Sierra, a small percentage of which have ever been published. To date, there is somewhat limited biographical data available on Forbes. This study is the first published essay integrating some of Forbes’ photographs taken between 1902 and 1916 with the published details of his life.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to their artistic merit, Forbes’ photographs and Austin’s poems are significant in their focus on the Eastern Sierra. In pursuing their creative interests and livelihoods, Forbes and Austin increased public awareness for this unique landscape and its inhabitants. Forbes’ photographs were sold to local residents, businesses, and tourists, while Austin, who as a teacher in the Owens Valley composed nature poetry “to have something for my pupils about the land they lived in,”<sup>4</sup> sold her verse to regional magazines such as *The Land of Sunshine* (renamed *Out West* in 1902) and to eastern periodicals.

Inspired by the dramatic beauty of the Eastern Sierra, Austin and Forbes made lasting contributions to the cultural history of California and the West. Paired together, their word pictures and photographic images offer a modern audience the opportunity to experience creative expressions linked by historical period, subject matter, and artistic sensibility.

#### THE LURE OF THE VALLEY

Both Austin and Forbes were transplanted Midwesterners to the Owens Valley, an arid ranching valley in eastern California sided by two mountain ranges. The Eastern Sierra skyline—great blocks of gray with opal shadows—lies to the



Andrew Alexander Forbes, ca. 1892. Ten years after this portrait was made, Forbes moved to Bishop, where he set up his photography studio. As the primary photographer of the Owens Valley from 1902 to 1916, Forbes documented the valley’s transformation from frontier to community.

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west, dominated by the towering 14,496-foot summit of Mount Whitney. The stark White-Inyo Mountains rise to the east. At the foot of Mount Whitney are the Alabama Hills, rust-brown outcrops of weathered granite. Owens Lake, once a hundred square miles in size, lay in the 1890s “like a vast lidless eye” in the desert basin.<sup>5</sup> Eighty miles east is Death Valley, 282 feet below sea level. The hundred-mile-long Owens Valley runs between the crest of the highest mountain in the contiguous United States and the stark, desert desolation of the lowest elevation.

The explorer General John Charles Frémont named the Owens Valley, and its river and lake, for Richard Owens, with whom he crossed the Sierra in 1845 during an expedition in the Sierra Nevada. During the 1860s, settlers arrived in the valley to establish farms and ranches along



the Owens River. Mining camps soon dotted the Eastern Sierra, operated by miners who were lured to the mountain regions by the discovery of gold in 1857. In 1861, cattlemen first grazed their cattle in the valley before driving the herds through the Sierra. After an Indian uprising, U.S. soldiers arrived to provide protection for the settlers and prospectors. The troops built Camp Independence on Oak Creek in 1862. Four years later, Independence, the location of the valley's first homestead, became the seat of the newly organized Inyo County.<sup>6</sup>

Forbes was in his late thirties when he made his way to the Owens Valley, documenting his long, winding route through his camera lens. He was born in Ottawa, Wisconsin, on April 21, 1862, one of eight children, to James McLaren Forbes, of Scotland, and Lucinda Parmelia Sanders Forbes, of New York.<sup>7</sup> In 1867 the Forbes family traveled from Wisconsin to California via the

Isthmus of Panama, returning to the Midwest the following year and settling near Sioux City, Iowa. In 1878 they relocated to Bazine, Kansas, where they prospered as cattle ranchers until a grasshopper plague destroyed the feed and a blizzard smothered the cattle in gullies of drifting snow. They came to southern California in 1890, first settling in Riverside County and then in Santa Ana in Orange County.

Forbes developed an interest in photography during the late 1870s or early 1880s while he was working on his family's cattle ranch; a relative observed that he inherited his artistic talent from his mother. He began his professional career in the late 1880s as an itinerant photographer, working the western territories with other skilled cameramen such as William Prettyman, George B. Cornish, and Thomas Croft; he may have learned his trade from one of them. The limited equipment of his day was the large



*Forbes began traveling through Texas and Oklahoma in the late 1880s, photographing cowboys on the range and the land runs of the Oklahoma Territory. His wagon served as his photography studio—a self-contained place for his camera, glass-plate negatives, chemicals, paper, and card stock.*



Mary Hunter Austin, ca. 1906. A literary pioneer in her time, Austin drew on her observations of life in the Owens Valley to write prose and poetry that reflected her interests in multiculturalism, environmental preservation, and diversity of the landscape—issues that resonate with her readers a century later.

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format camera, which was cumbersome to use but produced high-quality prints using 8 x 10 inch negatives on color-blind plates. As an itinerant photographer, Forbes obtained bed and board in ranch bunkhouses and traveled by buckboard across rough terrain, sometimes going by horse or mule to isolated locations. He traveled to Dodge City, Kansas, and Stillwater, Oklahoma, capturing images of railroad construction workers, settlers beside their sod houses, and teachers and Indian children at a mission school. He took pictures of buffalo herds and cattle roundups and created memorable images of weathered cowboys in the Texas and Oklahoma panhandles roping their saddle horses, branding steer, and gathering around a chuck wagon. Isolated cowhands paid him fifty cents to a dollar for a souvenir picture.<sup>8</sup>

Traveling through the Southwest, Forbes photographed Native Americans in Taos and Santa Fe, New Mexico, and in northern Arizona. He then worked his way along the eastern Rocky Mountains, arriving in the late 1890s at Santa Ana, where he joined his parents and sister. During his four-year stay in southern California, he produced images of communities, farms, and missions. He also traveled north to photograph Death Valley and the Eastern Sierra. In 1902, he settled in the town of Bishop.

Austin was a young wife in her mid-twenties when she arrived in the Owens Valley. Born on September 9, 1868, in Carlinville, Illinois, she was the third of four children. Her father, George Hunter, a Civil War veteran, was from England; her mother, Susanna Savilla Graham Hunter, was from Illinois. Austin graduated from Blackburn College in Carlinville, where she studied science. After her father's death, she came West in 1888 with her mother and brothers to homestead in California. Arriving in Los Angeles by train, they traveled one hundred miles by buckboard and horseback across Tejon Pass to settle in Kern County. Their tiny one-room cabin, surrounded by knee-high sagebrush, was a two-day wagon ride from Bakersfield, the main source of supplies. A severe drought soon undermined their homesteading venture.

Discouraged by the turn of events, Austin found employment as a teacher at a dairy ranch school in Mountain View in Kern County. There she met Stafford Wallace Austin, a graduate of the University of California and an aspiring viticulturalist, whom she married in 1891. After a failed attempt at fruit farming, the Austins settled in Bakersfield, where Wallace obtained employment supervising the construction of an irrigation ditch. The following year, when his brother Frank offered him a job managing an irrigation site in the Owens Valley, they moved to Lone Pine in the Eastern Sierra.





Forbes photographed often in and around the town of Lone Pine, where Mary Austin first arrived in 1892 and developed her fascination with the stark, high Sierra desert and the mountain regions of the Owens Valley. In her autobiography, *Earth Horizon*, Austin described Lone Pine, noting "the strange wild beauty of the scene" with Mount Whitney "towering" in the distance.

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From childhood, when she read the work of Byron, Keats, and Shelley in her father's book-lined study, Austin nurtured a lifelong interest in poetry. She began to write poems as a college student in the 1880s. She published some of her verse in her college literary magazine, the *Blackburnian*, and was elected "Class Poet." During their courtship Wallace Austin read poetry to her, a genteel custom of the period; on a trip to San Francisco after their marriage, she sought out the California poet Ina Coolbrith, who gave her advice and encouragement.<sup>9</sup>

### "THIS LONG BROWN LAND"

When Austin first arrived in the Owens Valley in the spring of 1892, the tiny town of Lone Pine lay in a valley dotted with homesteads. Both the town and the creek that ran through it were named for a lone Jeffrey pine, later washed away in a flood. The first cabin was built beside the creek in 1861. West of town stood Lone Pine Mountain, "the vast ghost-gray bulk of Opopago"—"The Weeper"<sup>10</sup>—as it was known to the Paiute Indians. The Paiutes were the first to divert water from the Owens River into ditches. Now ranchers and farmers needed water for their cattle and crops, and Wallace joined his brother Frank's project to irrigate the arid soil. But the

scheme failed due to a lack of capital, a fate common to private irrigation ventures. Unable to pay their bills, the Austins were evicted from their residence at the Lone Pine Hotel and moved to a boardinghouse on the outskirts of town. Their daughter, Ruth, was born the following October.

The Austins spent the winter and spring of 1893 at George's Creek, a few miles north of Lone Pine, where Wallace obtained a teaching position and filed a homesteading claim. They lived in a one-room cabin on a mesa beside the nearby Alabama Hills. That first icy-cold winter, Mary saw the gathering storms over the Eastern Sierra. She watched the heavy snow falling on the mountain slopes and observed how it "spread over the young firs in green-ribbed tents."<sup>11</sup> In her poem "The Coming of the Snow," composed in 1894 and carefully copied into her composition notebook, she wrote:

*Follows a little darkening of the air,  
With cattle gathering on the lower hills  
And sparrows querulous of coming ills,  
And so day passes ere we are aware.*

*Rises the wind by night and builds a roof  
Wherein his busy hands with warp and woof  
Of frost and cloud go swiftly to and fro  
Weaving the white pavilions of the snow.<sup>12</sup>*

At George's Creek, Austin was enchanted by the "smell of [burning] sage at sundown" and the "twilight twinkle of shepherd fires." She called the Alabama Hills the Twilight Hills and delighted in the blooms of the White Granite Gilia, a Sierra wildflower—called "evening snow" by local children—that opens at night. She also was intrigued by the lavender-blue lupine that grew on the mesas, "not holding any constant blue, but paling and purpling."<sup>13</sup> Writing in her composition notebook, she described the scene in verses from her poem "A Twilight Hill":

*And here the blundering night-moth doth disclose  
The scented hollow where the currant grows,  
And there the murky bloom of gilia glows  
Like nuns at prayer, milk-white.*

*Some beams shall light the far, dark, tapered firs,  
A quail belated to its covert whirs  
In nesting hollows where the warm wind stirs  
The lupines everywhere.<sup>14</sup>*

The Austins returned to Lone Pine when Wallace was offered a position as superintendent of schools. Still deeply in debt, to earn additional income Mary took Ruth and moved to Bishop, sixty miles north, to teach English, literature, and art at the Inyo Academy. Two years later, she accepted a teaching position in Lone Pine. Throughout this period, she struggled to continue her writing. In the summer of 1899, she visited Los Angeles and met the flamboyant editor Charles Lummis, who advised her on publishing her work.<sup>15</sup> When she returned to the Owens Valley, she settled in Independence, where Wallace had taken a position as registrar of federal lands at the U.S. General Land Office, part of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

While in Los Angeles, Austin had lectured on the subject of western nature study. Her passionate interest in botany—developed during her childhood—was reinforced by her great gift for the close observation of nature and her study

of science. As a young girl she envied the life of Charles Robertson, a professor of botany at Blackburn College. She would "see him occasionally setting out with [his] . . . botany case, or coming home . . . smelling of meadowsweet" after his excursions into the woods to find specimens. The Austins began collecting plant samples in the Eastern Sierra and gathered "more than three hundred species" of wildflowers in Kearsarge Canyon.<sup>16</sup> Wallace was a careful collector, naming and classifying each specimen and noting the location and date of collection. There were many flowers in the grasslands of the valley and acres of wildflowers in the alpine meadows. In a canyon by the headwaters of Independence Creek, Onion Valley was blanketed with flowers each spring. Austin featured it in a verse from her poem "Blue-Eyed Grass":

*Blue-eyed grass in the meadow  
And yarrow white on the hill,  
Cat-tails that rustle and whisper  
To a wind that is never still;  
Blue-eyed grass in the meadow,  
And a laden bee's low hum,  
Milkweed that runs to be first in the field  
Before the butterflies come.<sup>17</sup>*

In 1900, the Austins began construction of a two-story house in Independence, partly paid for by the money from Mary's stories and poems. It was, she noted, a "friendly little town," possessed "of not more than 200 or 300 inhabitants . . . with the County Courthouse, two saloons, three stores, and the hotel."<sup>18</sup> She was able to stop teaching and devote her time to her writing. The Austins put Ruth, who exhibited severe behavioral problems and had been diagnosed with a mental disability, in the care of a local farm couple. Their new home, one of the largest in the community, was located at the end of Market Street, a block and a half from the center of town, with an unobstructed view of Kearsarge Peak. Austin's literary efforts during the six years she lived in Indepen-





Of her home, "the brown house under the willow-tree," Austin wrote: "There you shall have such news of the land, of its trails and what is astir in them, as one lover of the land can give to another." Although it is not known how well Austin and Forbes knew each other, Forbes frequently stayed at the hotel down the street from Austin's house. Austin could have taken special interest in Forbes' photography: She claimed a family history descended from Pierre Daguerre, who, she noted in her autobiography, was related to Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, the inventor of the daguerreotype.

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dence resulted in the publication of *The Land of Little Rain* (1903), *The Basket Woman* (1904), *Isidro* (1905), and *The Flock* (1906). *The Land of Little Rain* was well received by eastern critics. Copies were shipped to Independence and arrived by buckboard from the Carson and Colorado railroad depot at Keeler. A local business proprietor, J. E. Eibeshutz, handled the sale of the book at his general store.<sup>19</sup>

### "THE LAND HAD CALLED HIM"

In 1902, Andrew Forbes settled in Bishop, north of Independence. Originally called Bishop Creek, it was named after Samuel Bishop, one of the first cattle ranchers in the valley. Forbes traveled around the region, earning his living by taking pictures of the local inhabitants; towns, farms, ranches, and mines; the Owens Valley; and the surrounding mountains.

By the late 1880s, factory-made dry plate negatives, less messy than hand-coated wet plates, were available and by the turn of the century cameras were slightly less bulky. With his "photo-

graphic outfit," which included his tent, camera, glass negatives, paper stock, and other equipment in his wagon, Forbes rode from town to town. His tent functioned as a portable makeshift studio. Each summer from mid-June through August, after the winter snow had melted at the lower elevations, he packed his gear and headed for the mountains, seeking the ideal vistas and perfect lighting for his memorable images of the Eastern Sierra. He photographed in the early morning and late afternoon, when the light produced deeper shadows and more dramatic scenes.

The Eastern Sierra, especially the sublime vistas of Yosemite Valley, north of the Owens Valley, captured the imagination of many nineteenth-century landscape photographers. Charles L. Weed (1824–1903) produced the first photographic images of Yosemite in 1859, using large 11 x 15 inch glass negatives hand-coated with light-sensitive chemicals; his work was followed in 1861 by that of Carleton E. Watkins (1829–1916), whose scenic views were produced from mammoth 18 x 22 inch glass negatives. Ansel Adams

(1902–1984), the most famous Yosemite photographer, first photographed Yosemite in 1916 with a Kodak Brownie box camera. He later used an 8 x 10 inch view camera to make the negatives for his prints. Forbes' black-and-white images of the Eastern Sierra—generally recognized as the 125-mile-long region extending from Mount Whitney in the south to Yosemite National Park in the north—taken from 1900 to 1916, precede Adams' work; Adams photographed many of the same vistas, including the Owens Valley, Alabama Hills, and Kearsarge Pinnacles.<sup>20</sup>

Shooting from across the Owens Valley, Forbes captured the scenic grandeur of snow-covered Mount Humphreys, at 13,986 feet the highest peak in the Sierra National Forest. He photographed the rugged beauty of the Owens River canyon, with white water swirling past granite boulders. His lens focused on a sweeping image of the Owens River, flowing through mountain woodlands to the valley below. He portrayed Bishop Creek Canyon, with tumbling water cascading downward for 6,000 feet, and Bishop Creek, flowing past fir trees on the mountain slopes. Of the eighty lakes within a few miles of the creek, Forbes photographed the lake at the north fork of the creek near Piute Pass and the one at the head of the creek's south fork. Some of Forbes' photographs document the heavy imprint of human activity on this once-unspoiled landscape, revealing severed trees and stumps, abandoned structures, cabins, and well-worn mountain trails.

Forbes envisioned the exciting prospect of establishing the first successful photography studio in the Owens Valley. He began his venture sometime between 1902 and 1904, opening his studio in Bishop on West Line Street. (The first photography studio in Yosemite Valley had opened in 1870, and by 1902 several businesses were competing for Yosemite's studio trade.) He ran a weekly advertisement in the *Inyo Independent*, noting his expertise in "mountain, stock, and

Indian views" and in "portrait work in any style." To promote his photography business he offered a free enlargement with every dozen portraits.<sup>21</sup>

Although he sold numerous portraits, Forbes' main source of revenue was from scenic prints and picture postcards, which were easily reproduced from glass plate negatives. He maintained an index to his postcards, which noted the subject and date. Postcards, originally called mailing cards and used for advertising, were introduced in 1861. Forbes' picture postcards predate those of Burton Frasher, who began photographing the West, including the region around Bishop, in the 1920s. The originator of Frashers Fotos, black-and-white postcards sold nationwide, Frasher would become the West's leading producer of picture postcards.

A frequent visitor to towns, farms, and ranches, Forbes rode through the basin taking pictures and marketing his prints and postcards. His photographs captured the transition of small, dusty towns into thriving communities with picket-fenced, wood-framed houses; streets lined with poplars; and increasing numbers of people putting down roots in the valley soil. On October 17, 1902, the *Inyo Independent* announced that Forbes was in Independence, "so give him a call soon." A week later, he was doing a "rushing business" in pictures. In November he was photographing in Lone Pine and returned to Independence in December. In February 1903, the newspaper noted, he was in Big Pine with his tent, where he would remain for a few weeks. The following May he was back in Independence. He visited again in November and stayed a week. In early December, he "returned to Bishop," but "took quite a number of beautiful views of the Sierra Nevadas while here which he will have finished up soon."<sup>22</sup>

Forbes created an illustrated catalog to market his photographs. Orders, "unless otherwise specified," were filled in black and white.





*Forbes used a photograph of Independence, which Austin described as “a friendly little town” that was “scattered on two or three streets and bracing itself against desolation,” for this picture postcard. Along with scenic prints, postcards were a primary source of his revenue.*

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Photographs were also available in “cepia [sic], green and firelight tones.” His 10-inch-wide panoramas averaged seventy-five cents per foot. His breathtaking 32-foot panorama of the Sierra Nevada in thirteen sections was listed at \$15.00. Other panoramic views of the Sierra cost between \$1.75 and \$4.00. Black-and-white 8 x 10 inch photographs sold for five cents. Forbes also sold lantern slides, which could be projected onto a large screen, and stereo cards, which provided three-dimensional images. His catalog was arranged by subject, among them clouds and lightning, mountains, desert, cattle, horses, sheep, and goats. There was also a section on the different groups of Indians. He sold photographs of picturesque locales, such as the Keeler depot east of Owens Lake. Expanding his photography trips, he began marketing a broader range of landscape photography, including scenes of Mammoth and Yosemite. In addition to his photographs, he rented cameras and sold

them, along with photographic supplies, to local residents and tourists who stopped by his Bishop studio.<sup>23</sup>

#### “THE PROMISE OF THE LAND”

At the turn of the century, the transcontinental line came to Reno, Nevada. There it connected with a narrow-gauge railroad that ran to the Keeler depot, bringing tourists from the East traveling in relative style and comfort. As Austin observed, “People were beginning to make their way into Inyo; people from the Sierra Club, mountain-climbers and explorers, botanists, hunting and fishing people; [and] collectors of Indian baskets.”<sup>24</sup> Although the landscape of Yosemite was more spectacular, the *Inyo Independent* proclaimed that “there is no place in the United States that can offer a more varied or grander scenery than the mountains and valleys of the Sierras in Inyo county.”<sup>25</sup>

Like tourists to the region, Forbes was drawn to the 12,618-foot Kearsarge Peak at the edge of the Owens Valley, and he photographed it, snow-covered, with the little town of Independence in the foreground. Kearsarge Pass was originally a Paiute trading route. When gold and silver were discovered in 1864, miners flocked to the mountain. It became a successful mining district until an avalanche destroyed it in 1867. There is a string of alpine lakes in Kearsarge, resting in granite basins. Forbes photographed small, picturesque Kearsarge Lake above Onion Valley and Sunset Lake near Kearsarge Pass. Austin noted how most lakes in the Eastern Sierra are green, not blue. As she observed, "The lake is the eye of the mountain, jade green, placid, unwinking, also unfathomable."<sup>26</sup>

While photographing in the southern part of the valley, Forbes stayed in Independence at the Norman House on the corner of Edwards and Market streets, down the block from Austin's house. It was a first-class hotel with thirty bedrooms, where one could board by the day, week, or month. The hotel's register indicates that visitors frequently came to Independence from Los Angeles, Sacramento, and Reno. Hundreds of tourists a year visited the region, arriving, increasingly, from as far away as Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.<sup>27</sup>

Forbes photographed one of Inyo's most popular tourist sites, Winnedumah Paiute Monument, an 80-foot granite monolith in the White-Inyo Mountains, immortalized in a Native American legend. In one version of the tale, Winnedumah, a medicine man, travels into the mountains to find his brother, Tinemaha, who has been slain in a battle with the Shoshones. The god Taupee turns Winnedumah into a granite spire to watch over the Paiute tribe. Like Forbes, Austin recognized the popular appeal of the striking granite formation, which could be seen from Kearsarge

Pass. She appropriated the legend for her poem "Winnedumah," which recounts the medicine man's transformation into "the granite boulder high above the white-pine wood."<sup>28</sup>

#### **"THE CLANS WHO HAD OWNED THE EARTH"**

In 1900, approximately one thousand Native Americans lived in the Owens Valley. The influx of ranchers and homesteaders had destroyed half their population and their original way of life. "The Paiutes," Austin wrote, "had made their last stand at the border of the Bitter Lake" in the 1860s when thirty-five Indians were killed or driven into Owens Lake to drown.<sup>29</sup> In 1902, a federal grant created reservation land for Indian settlement at Independence Camp. Paiute men worked on local farms and ranches; women found jobs as household help in local homes. The children attended the Indian schools in the valley.

In response to the relegation of the Indians to reservations and the destruction of their way of life, there was a growing movement to preserve what remained of Native American culture. Some Americans held a romantic image of Indians living in harmony with nature. But, Austin observed, in the Owens Valley "the clans who owned the earth, [had] fallen into the deplorable condition of hangers-on." Burdened with household chores and worries about her disabled daughter, Austin employed a Paiute housekeeper and befriended the local Indian women. She attended some of the Paiute ceremonies and celebrations and recorded their songs with a home phonograph using wax cylinders. Visiting their camps, she watched as Paiute women dug wild hyacinth roots, gathered seeds, and crafted their willow baskets. She listened to their "folk tales, famine tales, love and long-suffering," and wove their words into her stories and poetry.<sup>30</sup> In "The Song-Makers," she penned one of her "re-expressions" of Native American "song":



Oh, a long time  
 The snow is over all the mountain.  
 The deer have come down and the big-horn,  
 They have passed over Waban.  
 A long time now we have eaten seeds  
 And dried flesh of the summer's killing,  
 We are wearied of our huts.  
 The mists have come down like a tent,  
 They have hid the mountain.  
 And on a day suddenly comes the sun.  
 The mists are withered away,  
 The grass is seen on the mountain!<sup>31</sup>

Forbes was equally attracted to the native culture and photographed the Paiute encampments in the valley. The houses, "brown wickiups in the chaparral," as Austin called them, had changed little over time; only a few Owens Valley Indians owned their own land and worked their own farms. Forbes, who had photographed a wide range of Native American groups as he traveled across the country, made friends with the local Indians who "would gather to sit and socialize on the edge of the boardwalk in front of his studio." In his portrait work he created numerous artistic poses of Paiute women in their maternal role. The recurrent image of a mother and child, thought-provoking in the universality of its underlying themes, proved a popular subject. Forbes also photographed Paiute women with their beautiful willow baskets decorated with intricate patterns; Austin described one as "a design in colored bark of the procession plumed crests of the valley quail."<sup>32</sup>

Like Austin, Forbes frequently focused on the feminine and artistic aspects of Paiute culture. Taken out of their larger context, removed from time and place, these images were sold as decorative art, sentimental souvenirs, and picture postcards to be sent to family and friends. Nevertheless, they captured the resilience and dignity of native people displaced in the valley of the Eastern Sierra.



Forbes used a painted backdrop to make this photograph of a Paiute mother and child, a frequent subject of his souvenir postcards. Paiute women, after recovering from childbirth, wove cradle baskets to carry their infants. As Austin wrote of Seyavi, a Paiute basket maker, "Twice a year, in the time of white butterflies and again when young quail ran neck and neck in the chaparral, Seyavi cut willows for basketry by the creek where it wound toward the river against the sun and sucking winds."

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## *Wind in the Pine Leaves*

In Forbes' photographs, the scenic pagentry of the forests enhances majestic mountain views. The trees in the Eastern Sierra include cottonwood, quaking aspen, white fir, and red fir, and seven species of pine grow in the mountains above Independence. Austin captured a telling detail of the forest when she wrote about "pine trees [that] creak although there is no wind." In another passage, she described the mournful sound of a Jeffrey pine "sighing its soul away upon the wind."

One of Forbes' intriguing images is a lone piñon pine on a rocky slope, silhouetted against a clear sky. In her unpublished poem "The Procession of the Pines," Austin suggests a dramatic view of pines on the Sierra slopes:

*The willows follow the white-foot streams  
And grow at the water's will;  
But ever and always the pines keep on  
Marching over the hill.  
Darkly they troop by butte and pass,  
Riving great rocks for place  
And the foremost ones are bent and bowed  
Like runners stretched in a race.*

SEAVER CENTER FOR WESTERN HISTORY RESEARCH, LOS ANGELES COUNTY MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY; POEM FROM "THE PROCESSION OF THE PINES," MARY AUSTIN COLLECTION, HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, AU 465

## "THE STREETS OF THE MOUNTAINS"

When his horse or mule reached the end of a trail during his forays into the mountains, Forbes carried his photographic equipment on his back to get the scenic views he wanted. On mountain summits, he began using a large, panoramic Circuit camera, rotating on a turntable mounted on a tripod. He created scenic panoramas described by one author as "technical *tours de force*" and experimented with "aerial photography by suspending the camera from a series of large kites."<sup>33</sup> He photographed hundreds of different panoramic scenes of the mountains and valley. One huge panorama, showing 250 miles of the Sierra Nevada, measured 32 feet.<sup>34</sup>

Packing into the mountains, Forbes photographed Lone Pine Lake, elevation 9,940 feet, with a sunlit cloud overhead. As Austin observed, in the mountains "the clouds came walking on the floor of heaven, flat and pearly gray beneath, rounded and pearly white above." Forbes also photographed the waterfalls on Lone Pine Creek with their "incessant white and tumbling waters." A mountain range without streams, Austin wrote, is "forsaken of most things but beauty and madness and death and God."<sup>35</sup>

On camping trips in the mountains, Austin slept in her bedroll beneath the pines. In early July 1904, she and her friend Leila Scovil camped in the mountains above Independence. At the end of the month she camped again, this time via Kearsarge trail, with a large party that included members of the Eibeshutz family.<sup>36</sup> She also camped in Kearsarge with Wallace, an avid outdoorsman. In the summer the mountains offer relief from the overwhelming heat in the valley, where the average daytime summer temperature is 97 degrees. As Austin complained, "It is insufferably hot here in the summer." However, as she reflected, "Never believe what you are told, that midsummer is the best time to go up the streets of the mountain . . . for seeing and understanding, the best time is when you have the longest



*In 1873, the naturalist John Muir became the first to reach the top of Mount Whitney from the eastern slope. Trails across the Sierra were built around the turn of the century, reflecting Americans' growing interest in wilderness preservation, the dramatic landscapes of the West, and the recreational enjoyment of nature. In June 1904, after the snows had melted at the middle elevations, Forbes made the 11-mile trip to the summit of Mount Whitney to capture its scenic beauty with his lens. In what may be a self-portrait, he is shown carrying his photographic equipment on his back. As Austin observed, "Who shall say what another will find most to his liking in the streets of the mountains."*

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leave to stay." Although the horseback trips taxed her strength, Austin loved the "meadows, little strips of alpine freshness, [which] begin before the timberline is reached."<sup>37</sup> At night there was the rosy comfort of a crackling fire, as she fancifully described in these lines from her unpublished poem "The Camp Fire":

*Then you wake up on your bed of springy needles,  
Lie up snug to watch the heart-wood glow and char,  
While the water in the runnels purrs and wheedles,  
From the meadows where the folded lilies are.  
Only wake to hear the wood folk, round you going,  
Thread the pine boles with small noises low and  
least,  
See the embers in the wavering ash heap glowing,  
Red and winking, like the eyeballs of a beast.*<sup>38</sup>

## THE FUTURE OF THE VALLEY

In contrast to the open spaces of the mountains, the valley floor was populated with a growing number of homesteads. By the turn of the century, more than 400 family farms and ranches had spread out across the once arid landscape. As Austin confirmed, "With the slow decline of mining, agricultural possibilities in Inyo began to come to the fore."<sup>39</sup> Fields of oats, alfalfa, wheat, and barley dotted the basin, where boughs in the orchards hung heavy with apples, peaches, and pears. Grapes grew in the vineyards, descending from arbors in gardens of geraniums and hollyhocks. More than 40,000 acres of the valley were under cultivation, but much of the basin still lacked water. Valley residents hoped that even more acres of fertile valley land could be irrigated with water from ditches fed by mountain streams.

Each year thousands of sheep and cattle were driven through the basin to graze in the mountains. The tinkle of sheep bells could be heard across the valley as flocks were driven along the mesa trail "in a windless blur of dust." As Austin explained, "the flocks passed behind the Alabamas, going swiftly till they came on the

broad mesa pastures at George's Creek."<sup>40</sup> Sometimes there were conflicts between the "wool and mutton men" and the cattlemen over the grassy slopes. Austin depicted the approximately 10-mile drive up Lone Pine Mountain, also known as Sheep Mountain, in these lines from her poem "The Coyote and the Carrion Crow":

*At the end of the barley harvest when the foothill  
pastures fail,  
When the streams are stopped at their fountains  
and the dry, hot winds prevail,  
Then the hungry herds of the southland go up by  
the mesa trail.  
To the snow-fed northern pastures the crawling dust  
heaps go,  
And the gray coyote scents them afar and signals  
the carrion crow.*<sup>41</sup>

At an October 1903 school Halloween party, Austin, costumed as a witch, told fortunes to seventh and eighth grade students as she peered "into the misty future."<sup>42</sup> But she could not have predicted the future of the Owens Valley. In 1902, the U.S. Congress had passed the National Reclamation Act to provide water to arid, inhospitable land in the West. A massive land reclamation project in the Owens Valley was planned. Mountain streams would flood new irrigation canals, and 60,000 acres of arid public land and 50,000 acres of private land would be irrigated. Federal engineers already were exploring the watersheds and measuring the rivers and streams, including the Owens River, Bishop Creek, and Pine Creek, and a report had been submitted to the federal government discussing possible sites for the dam, reservoir, and irrigation plant.

The U.S. General Land Office in Independence, where Wallace Austin was employed, handled all matters regarding public land, including surveys, maps, and deeds. As registrar he was in charge of all official records, and his office assisted reclamation project engineers. He also was active in county politics, and the irrigation project was

much discussed in those circles as well. In 1904, he was elected a member of the Republican Central Committee and represented the county at the state's Republican convention.

Forbes also was knowledgeable about many aspects of the region, having photographed much of it, including the lakes and streams that formed the watersheds of the Eastern Sierra. As a result of his expertise, in 1905 he received a new assignment: photographing the valley's water sources. The *Inyo Register*, published in Bishop, and the *Inyo Independent*, published in Independence, both remarked on Forbes' photographic mission. William A. Chalfant, editor of the *Inyo Register*, announced that "Photographer Forbes is out picturing the water supply sources of the valley under arrangement with Fred Eaton. What it's for no one knows." The *Independent* reported that Forbes "went to Cottonwood" and was "making a thorough collection of photographic views of all the mountain streams and camping places along the Sierra from Olancha to Long Valley for Fred Eaton." The reference to Fred Eaton, who was credited with spearheading the controversial diversion of water from the Owens Valley to Los Angeles County, involved Forbes in a controversy over the region's water rights that is still addressed today.<sup>43</sup>

As part of his documentation for Eaton, Forbes photographed Cottonwood Creek, named for the cottonwood trees, which leads to the Cottonwood Lakes, a string of thirteen lakes northwest of Olancha. But it is unlikely that these or any other "camping places" were of much interest to Eaton; Forbes may have been taken in by Eaton's disingenuous explanation for his curiosity about the mountain streams.

Fred Eaton came from a prominent Los Angeles family that helped found the city of Pasadena. At age fifteen, he went to work for the Los Angeles City Water Company; he became superintendent of the company and then mayor of Los Angeles.

Ironically, it was Wallace Austin's brother Frank who first interested Eaton in the Owens River water. In 1892, Eaton traveled to the valley at Frank's invitation to investigate Austin's irrigation project. He visited the Owens Valley several times afterward, bringing his good friend William Mulholland, superintendent of the newly created Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, to the area in September 1904. Traveling by buckboard, they camped out along the way. Eaton developed a scheme with Mulholland to divert Owens River water to Los Angeles and began buying properties and water rights on the Owens River. To identify locations to purchase, he made use of the records and plat maps in the General Land Office. Only later was it disclosed that he was representing Los Angeles and working for Mulholland to secure properties and water rights to build an aqueduct to Los Angeles.<sup>44</sup>

Across the West towns were growing as people relocated from rural areas. By 1900, the population of the city of Los Angeles was more than 100,000; thirty years earlier, it was less than 6,000. In the decade between 1890 and 1900, the population had doubled. The city's balmy climate and golden orange groves lured new residents. As the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and other organizations stressed the importance of growth, bankers, newspaper publishers, politicians, and real estate developers became boosters for Los Angeles' virtues.

But the city faced a serious water shortage. The Los Angeles River and groundwater from rain were inadequate and unreliable. An effort to conserve water through a metering program proved insufficient. The city required an additional source of water to sustain its expanding population and allow for future growth. To meet those needs, Eaton proposed a 233-mile aqueduct, at a cost of \$23 million, to supply Owens Valley water to Los Angeles.



When the Los Angeles press released news of the proposed aqueduct, the headlines of the *Inyo Register* protested, "Los Angeles Plots Destruction: Would Take Owens River, Lay Lands Waste." Forbes joined a Bishop committee to fight the aqueduct. He worked with Chalfant, editor of the *Inyo Register* since 1887, to oppose the project. Chalfant used Forbes' photographs as propaganda to publicize the importance of the Owens Valley as a farming and ranching community. He ran articles and advertisements in the *Inyo Register* to increase support for the area and published a twenty-five-page special edition in July 1907 extolling the benefits of living in the Owens Valley.<sup>45</sup>

The Austins, like other residents of the area, were stunned at the revelation that Eaton and Mulholland had successfully obtained the rights to Owens Valley water. Austin recalled in her autobiography: "Suddenly it burst upon the people of Inyo that they were trying to secure the waters of Inyo. Everything had been done. The Reclamation Service had been won over. The field papers had changed hands. Transfers had been made. Sales had been effected. A Los Angeles man, Eaton, had been in the Valley all this time spying and buying."<sup>46</sup>

As registrar of the General Land Office, Wallace Austin was in a unique position to understand the significance of what had happened. He had long held a vision of successful land reclamation in the Owens Valley. In response to what had now come to light, he "warned that Los Angeles' plans would result in the destruction of the valley's economy." He wrote to the commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington and to President Theodore Roosevelt, trying to persuade the federal government to continue its massive reclamation project in the Owens Valley.<sup>47</sup>

Mary Austin also took up the cause. She criticized the aqueduct in an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on September 3, 1905, and paid a personal visit to William Mulholland at his Los

Angeles office. Mulholland conceded that she was one of the few people who understood the long-term implications of what was happening in the Owens Valley.<sup>48</sup>

City leaders and the press convinced Los Angeles residents that a lack of rainfall and impending drought would cause the city to run out of water. Anticipating the delivery of aqueduct water to a reservoir in the San Fernando Valley, speculators bought up the land for 50 cents an acre and sold it for as much as \$600 an acre after it was subdivided. As Wallace Austin wrote, "In Owens Valley [the water] will make homes for 100,000 people of moderate means, while in the San Fernando Valley it will be accessible only to the rich and the land and the water will be in control of speculators and middle men."<sup>49</sup>

In February 1906, Los Angeles surveyors set up camp in a "village of tents" near Blackrock Springs, north of Independence and south of where the aqueduct would leave the river. In March they were at George's Creek, surveying "the first section, from the intake to the Alabama Hills."<sup>50</sup> By the end of 1908, the preparation work was completed and construction on the aqueduct began. When finished, it would supply more water than Los Angeles needed, and Owens Valley water would be used for agriculture and development in the San Fernando Valley.

For now, thousands of acres of public land that were formerly the responsibility of the General Land Office—acres that could have been successfully irrigated and made available to homesteaders—were declared off-limits to homesteading. In 1907, to protect the aqueduct route, they were made part of the forest reserve, even though there were no trees.

Despite the blistering desert heat, equipment failures, and labor conflicts, the concrete-and-steel aqueduct was completed in 1913. Using the forces of gravity to carry water to Los Angeles, it was a triumph of engineering. The water and



Forbes' image of Bishop Creek graced the 1913 calendar of the Bishop Light and Power Company—evidence of the town's development. Of the water in the mountains, lakes, creeks, and streams, Austin wrote: "Whatever goes up or comes down the streets of the mountains, water has the right of way; it takes the lowest ground and the shortest passage." She described "the fashion in which a mountain stream gets down from the perennial pastures of the snow"; eventually it "tumbles into a sharp groove between hill flanks, curdles under the stream tangles, and so arrives at the open country and steadier going."

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hydroelectric power allowed Los Angeles to experience a boom in population, housing, and business. The availability of raw materials, water, electricity, and transportation allowed industries to develop and expand. Los Angeles became the largest manufacturing center in the country.

But, in the following decades, the diversion of water into the Los Angeles Aqueduct dried up 60 miles of the Owens River and completely drained Owens Lake. Cottonwood trees that grew along riverbanks died. Irrigation ditches went dry. Homesteads and farms were abandoned. Fruit trees were sold as firewood. Vineyards withered away. Fertile green fields reverted to sagebrush. The valley's agricultural economic base disappeared.

The shocking turn of events affected the Austins dramatically. By early 1906, Wallace Austin had resigned his position as registrar at the General Land Office. In July and August 1905, he and several of his supporters had filed claims on water surpluses in the valley on behalf of the residents, which proved worthless and resulted in considerable humiliation when he was publically ridiculed by Fred Eaton in the Los Angeles press.<sup>51</sup>

The Austins sold their house in Independence and committed Ruth to an institution in Santa Clara. Mary moved to Carmel, and Wallace eventually relocated to Trona in the Mojave Desert. The tragedy of the Owens Valley no doubt contributed to the stress and disappointment in the Austins' marriage; they never resumed married life and were divorced in 1914. Mary Austin went on to become one of America's most important women writers and a spokeswoman for Native American rights. In 1917, she published *The Ford*, a fictionalized account of the Owens Valley water conflict. She died in Santa Fe, New Mexico, on August 13, 1934. In 1966, an Eastern Sierra peak located 8.5 miles west of Independence was named in her honor—Mount Mary Austin—with an elevation of 13,048 feet.



Forbes' life was not impacted as forcefully as was the Austins'. His home and studio were in Bishop, which unlike Independence was north of the Owens River aqueduct intake and thus unaffected by the impending diversion of water to Los Angeles. Furthermore, Forbes' ability to earn a living was not in jeopardy. He remained in Bishop during the construction of the aqueduct and continued his photographic trips around the valley and in the mountains. In early 1906, the *Inyo Independent* reported that Forbes would be in Independence until February 20, and that he had "pitched his big tent near the drug store and [was] ready for work."<sup>52</sup> The city of Bishop had developed an electrical power plant and the Bishop Light and Power Company featured a Forbes' landscape photograph on its annual calendar.

Forbes continued to participate in community activities and organizations, such as the local theater group. In 1909, he married Mary Rozette Prutsman, who helped run his photography business, often accompanying him on his month-long summer pack trips into the mountains. They had one son, J. McLaren Forbes, born in 1910. But over time Forbes became discouraged by the changes in the valley wrought by the construction of the aqueduct. In 1916, three years after the aqueduct was completed, he sold his Bishop house and studio and moved to Lompoc, California, where he died of a heart attack on March 21, 1921.

## "REMEMBERED LANDMARKS"

Today the towns along Highway 395, which runs through the Owens Valley, are studded with restaurants, motels, convenience stores, and gas stations. For their economic survival, they rely on the summer tourist season. When the snow melts and the trails are open, the Eastern Sierra attracts a wide range of visitors. Camping, hiking, fishing, bird watching, and photography are only a few of the activities that draw millions of

people to the region each year. The valley itself is largely untouched by the forces of urbanization, and most of it remains in its natural state. Cattle herds graze on land leased from Los Angeles, which owns 300,000 acres in the region. In the late afternoons, Tule elk wander down from the foothills to the valley floor. At night, coyotes lope through the desert sage.

The mountains that overlook the Owens Valley continue to inspire residents and tourists alike. These haunting lines from Austin's "The Coming of the Snow" convey their mystery and timeless beauty:

*As yet no wind, but clouds all white and slow,  
Blind clouds that halt and fumble as they go,  
Touching remembered landmarks, hill and spur,  
Hoar pine and sapling, hemlock, spruce and fir,  
By lake and fall, by canon, rift and scar.  
By long dark reaches where the tamaracks are.*<sup>53</sup>

KAREN S. LANGLOIS is Professor of Liberal Studies at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. She specializes in American literary and cultural history. Her previous articles on Mary Austin have appeared in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, *Western American Literature*, *Theatre History*, *California History*, and the *Journal of American Culture*. She received a PhD in American History from Claremont Graduate University.

# The Land of Big Sur

## *Conservation on the California Coast*

BY JOHN WALTON

Of Big Sur, Henry Miller observed: “Paradise or no paradise, I have the very definite impression that the people of this vicinity are striving to live up to the grandeur and nobility which is such an integral part of this setting. They behave as if it were a privilege to live here, as if it were by an act of grace they found themselves here. The place itself is so overwhelmingly bigger, greater, than anyone could hope to make it that it engenders a humility and reverence not frequently met with in Americans. There being nothing to improve on in the surroundings, the tendency is to set about improving oneself.”<sup>1</sup>

The Big Sur coast is both a natural wonder and social achievement. An area extending nearly one hundred miles along the California coast—from the Carmel River to San Simeon and inland some five or ten miles to the 5,000-foot crest of the Santa Lucia Mountains and Ventana Wilderness—few places have managed to preserve for public use thousands of scenic acres and coastline in populous regions. In years past, a series of place-names distinguished isolated pioneer settle-

ments (Point Lobos, Palo Colorado, Mill Creek, Sur, Lucia) before the more inclusive name Big Sur became customary as contact with the outside world grew. Even today some would limit the Big Sur area to the populated valley twenty-six miles south of Carmel.<sup>2</sup>

Whether about place-names or politics, few matters elicit general agreement in Big Sur. Yet residents and legions of visitors are unanimous on one point: the stunning natural beauty of the place. Robinson Jeffers, whose poetry chronicled life on the coast during the 1920s and 1930s, described Big Sur as “the noblest thing I have ever seen,” and painter Francis McComas called it “the greatest meeting of land and water in the world.” Equally remarkable, Big Sur embraces a “vibrant, alive community” of 1,500 people spread thinly over several hundred thousand acres that are protected for public enjoyment and

*There are nearly one hundred miles of scenic coastline in Big Sur. Numerous parks and trails provide public access to the region's dramatic headlands and interior canyons, redwood stands, and mountains. Approximately 500,000 acres of land—extending from the Carmel River in the north to San Simeon and the San Luis Obispo County line in the south—are preserved under various federal, state, county, and private arrangements.*

COURTESY OF THE BIG SUR LAND TRUST





recreational use from the kind of development (though not all development) that otherwise might destroy this special environment in ways so prevalent along the southern California coast.<sup>3</sup>

A distinctive place—"a state of mind" according to the novelist Lillian Bos Ross and a naturalist's haven for wildlife biologists Paul Henson and Donald Usner—Big Sur is not, however, unique from the standpoint of environmental protection. In California alone major environmental achievements grace the San Francisco Bay, West Marin–Sonoma Coast and Point Reyes National Seashore north of San Francisco, the state's 1,100-mile coastline, and the Eastern Sierra watershed. Big Sur's environmental success, nevertheless, is particularly noteworthy. Over the last one hundred years, effective mechanisms for environmental protection have developed here, including responsible government, the environmental movement, historical tradition, creative planning, healthy conflict, and citizen participation mobilized by all of these factors.<sup>4</sup>

## EXPLAINING ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION

Explanations offered for open-space preservation in case study descriptions and academic syntheses may be divided into two broad categories. One stresses citizen activism or popular movements, from the environmental movement to campaigns to save local places. Pressed about why citizens may act in one time or place rather than another, this explanation underscores local resources (e.g., wealth, education) and opportunities (e.g., some visible threat to the environment or new mechanism for collective action), with an emphasis on grassroots mobilization. The other approach emphasizes government, public policy, or what one author calls a "policy capacity model." Here "community civic resources" or social capital are included in the model along with the "policy system," corresponding roughly to government fiscal and administrative abil-

ity. Of course, citizen activism and public policy are not mutually exclusive, although the two approaches do prioritize the causes of preservation in different ways. Our purpose in this essay is to evaluate these reasonable arguments in light of a study of conservation in Big Sur that may contribute to a more complete explanation.<sup>5</sup>

The Big Sur case study illustrates several important aspects of conservation on the Central Coast. First, the goals and methods of land preservation are the product of decades of development, fashioned in the give-and-take between local interest groups, landowners, nonprofits, and public agencies. The process begins long before modern environmentalism emerged in the 1960s, and conservation traditions established earlier continue to operate. Explanations require historical perspective. Second, through the cooperative interplay of actors—including the California State Parks Department, the California Coastal Conservancy, the Monterey Peninsula Regional Park District, the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, state- and federal-designated wilderness areas and national marine sanctuaries, The Big Sur Land Trust, The Nature Conservancy, and private ranches under conservation easements—Big Sur has become an exemplary case of environmental protection despite, and in some ways because of, conflict within the community. Here, the "community" is not the effective unit of analysis, as in other explanations where coalitions of groups and organizations often work in the face of opposition. Big Sur is a region, rather than an incorporated town or county, composed of many environmental interests that sometimes oppose one another. Third, state support in the form of new legislated tools, oversight, and millions of dollars for land acquisition has been crucial for the success of local efforts. Fourth, conservation activists have played a critical role in these events, acting as buyers, sellers, agents, intermediaries, advocates, negotiators, and sometimes protesters. At crucial moments, land trusts



have moved between agencies and owners, sellers and buyers. This case study involves collective action through organizational networks that evolve over time.

The sheer size of Big Sur's protected area contributes to its distinction as a prototype for conservation: roughly 500,000 acres of protected land (including the northern portion of Los Padres National Forest)—even more when including Fort Hunter Liggett and the recently preserved Hearst Ranch.<sup>6</sup>

The story of conservation in Big Sur has been a tempestuous one, featuring pitched battles between local property owners and outsiders, among locals, and even among well-meaning environmentalists. This “battle for the wilderness”—as John Woolfenden describes the events of the 1970s and 1980s—continues to this day.<sup>7</sup>

## A FATEFUL PAST

El Sur, “the south,” was the name Spanish colonists gave to the great expanse of rugged land along the coast below the presidial and missionary headquarters established in Monterey in 1770. Although Franciscan missionaries led by Father Junípero Serra began at once to recruit Indians to the mission settlement as laborers and Christian converts, they understood little of Native American language, culture, or group differences. The Indians living in the immediate vicinity of San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo (Carmel Mission) were of the Ohlone group (or “tribelet”), whom the missionaries indiscriminately called Costanoans. The Ohlone constituted a distinct society from the Esselen, who occupied what is today the core area of Big Sur and who, numbering perhaps 1,200, “were one of the least numerous and remain one of the least known” California Indian groups. The Esselen left stunning rock paintings in backcountry caves and struggled to maintain their independence as colonial forces surrounded them after 1770. They



*This rendering of Carmel Mission, from an 1854 lithograph by Cyrille Pierre Théodore Leplace, shows the mission and portions of the San José y Sur Chiquito land grant. The open country of the Santa Lucia Mountains in the background looks much the same today and is permanently protected under a joint arrangement of the Monterey Peninsula Regional Park District, the California State Parks Department, and The Nature Conservancy.*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

were virtually extinguished in the nineteenth century as the result of disease and incorporation into colonial society through intermarriage and farm labor.<sup>8</sup>

Large tracts of land under Mexican rule in the 1830s were granted to ex-soldiers and associates of the provincial governors, three near Carmel Mission at the gateway to El Sur and another twenty miles down the coast. An early drawing of Carmel Mission shows cattle grazing on nearby hillsides of the 8,876-acre Rancho San José y Sur Chiquito grant. To the south, the 8,814-acre Rancho El Sur grant passed through several owners, including Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado, finally coming into the hands of Captain John Rogers Cooper, whose family legacy is preserved today through the Andrew Molera State Park (named for Cooper's grandson). Under Cooper's management Rancho El Sur thrived from the 1840s as a cattle ranch and dairy, employing numbers of Hispanic and Indian vaqueros and supporting a school and community center. In his pioneer memoir, Sam Trotter recalled attending the “big dance Saturday night at the Cooper hall near the mouth of Big Sur [River] on the Cooper grant.”<sup>9</sup>

Anglo settlement of Big Sur began in the late nineteenth century in response to homestead and timber claims offered by public land laws. Michael and Barbara Pfeiffer, "of Alsatian origin," arrived in 1869 with the first four of their children. Former Rancho El Sur vaqueros Manuel Innocenti, an Indian, and David Castro bought small farms. Many of the settlers were Yankees, such as William Brainard Post, who married Anselma Onesimo, a Costanoan-Rumsen Indian. Because Big Sur was isolated and its rugged terrain was generally inhospitable to the Mexican hacienda, a good deal of coastal land was available for distribution under homestead and timber claims. In the fall of 1893, Sam Trotter left his employment as a woodsman in the Santa Cruz Mountains and headed south to Big Sur with three friends, two pack mules, and one ambition. As he recalled years later, one of his compan-

ions, "Mr. Wm. Notley told me he had a letter from a Mr. I. N. Swetman that there was some good timber land in the north fork of Little [Sur] River . . . and that there were some very good claims belonging to the government yet not taken up. He [Notley] wanted to know if I wanted to go down with him, look it over and if it was good timber we could each take up a claim." Through preemption, homesteading, timber claims, sales, and squatting, a growing number of settlers in the 1870s and 1880s acquired small farms. Mexican land grants were recognized after statehood, and designated government land moved from public ownership to small holdings (successfully patented homesteads and timber claims), some of which were subsequently consolidated in family holdings and by resale in ranches of a thousand acres or more.<sup>10</sup>

In 1879, the voter registration roll for Sur Precinct listed twenty-six men, all identified as farmers save two stock raisers, two laborers, one lumberman, and one miner. By 1896 there were sixty-two voters (all male until 1920), agrarians to a man except the lighthouse keeper and an engineer. The U.S. Census of Agricultural Production for Monterey County in 1880 lists only a handful of farmers on the coast, suggesting the others were subsistence farmers with no measurable production for the market. Michael Pfeiffer's farm included more than 500 acres, twelve of which were tilled, 200 cows and pigs, and a yearly income of \$1,100, mostly from butter production, but no paid labor, owing perhaps to a family that grew to eight children and succeeding generations. Kentuckian Thomas Ingram produced \$1,500 worth of cattle and butter on his 400-acre ranch and paid \$300 for hired labor in 1879. Charles Bixby, whose principal business was timber, owned a profitable ranch on Mill (later Bixby) Creek valued at more than \$4,000 and paid \$800 in wages. Bixby built a ship's landing for export from his sawmill and employed ranch and mill workers in the



*Notley's Landing was one of a series of "dog hole" ports used to export timber, tanbark, and lime for several decades around the turn of the century. Operated by brothers William and Godfrey Notley, the landing and mill also served as a community center for residents of the Palo Colorado area, hosting picnics and dances.*

COURTESY OF PAT HATHAWAY, CALIFORNIA VIEWS; PHOTOGRAPH BY L. S. SLEVIN



construction of the first wagon road linked to Monterey. By 1900, the U.S. Manuscript Census recorded 331 persons living in ninety-five households in the section of Monterey Township from the Carmel River to the San Luis Obispo County line. Society consisted in large part of pioneering farmers and loggers living in isolated settlements surrounded by natural beauty, economic austerity, and ambivalence toward outsiders, which, combined, kept the area relatively unspoiled.<sup>11</sup>

Change began at the turn of the century. Agricultural production on family farms remained the staple of the economy, specializing in dairy, livestock, and honey, while gold, lime, and coal mining had short-lived successes. The more sustained industry was lumber, principally redwood and tanbark stripped from oak trees. Forest products were exported from a series of landings (Notley's, Bixby's, Partington), or "dog hole" ports along the coast, and carried to Monterey and San Francisco by regular steamship service. Like mining, however, timber and tanbark faltered as economically accessible supplies were exhausted. The industry of the future began to emerge when campers and sports enthusiasts appeared in growing numbers on the regular stagecoach run and in new outdoor resorts (Idlewild, Pfeiffer's). Wealthy individuals bought some of the cattle ranches to operate more for enjoyment than for subsistence.

Big Sur's legendary bohemian community formed in the new century as the scenery, cheap living, and one another's company drew poets, artists, writers, and sundry eccentrics. The treacherous coast road, another factor in the area's isolation, was steadily improved, allowing automobile traffic as far as Cooper's ranch in the 1920s and, with a final assist from the Works Progress Administration, to San Simeon in 1937. Although the shift from pioneer era to modern service economy came gradually, 1937 was the watershed year and Highway 1, the main coastal thoroughfare, the decisive agent of change.

Regional identity shifted from many local settlements to a more inclusive Big Sur defined from outside the area. Developers, county officials, and those working in the tourist industry hailed the progress, while poets such as Robinson Jeffers abhorred it: "Rock-narrowed farms in poverty and freedom is a good life. . . . At the far end of those loops of road is what will come and destroy it, a rich and vulgar and bewildered civilization dying at the core." The ensuing tension among the social groups would become a permanent characteristic of the region.<sup>12</sup>

## STEWARDS OF THE LAND

Land preservation on the Central Coast began with the creation of the U.S. Forest Service in 1905 and the establishment of the Monterey Forest Preserve in 1906. The preserve was expanded in 1908 to include tracts in other counties and was linked to the Santa Barbara National Forest in 1919. In 1936 all two million acres were renamed Los Padres National Forest. In the 1860s, California senator and newspaper owner George Hearst had begun buying old land grants on the south coast near present-day San Simeon, eventually consolidating a quarter-million acres in the Hearst family ranch. His son, William Randolph, inherited the property and built a castle there, which he called "the ranch," but reluctantly sold large northern sections of the property to the federal government when facing bankruptcy in the late 1930s. The sale helped to create the 175,000-acre Hunter Liggett Military Reservation and to expand Los Padres National Forest. Sixty thousand acres were added to the forest through a land swap with the Bureau of Land Management in 1935, when unclaimed public lands were closed with the repeal of the Homestead Act. The Big Sur portion of the Los Padres National Forest, 340,000 acres, is the only national forest on the Pacific Coast.<sup>13</sup>



Aerial view of Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument, San Louis Obispo County, ca. 1920s. *Forming the southern boundary of Big Sur, currently the ranch acquired by Senator George Hearst in the 1860s covers 82,000 acres. Several hundred acres of the monument's showcase "castle" and gardens, built by William Randolph Hearst in the 1920s, are now operated by the California State Parks Department. In recent years an \$80 million plan was negotiated between the state, the Hearst Corporation, and the American Land Conservancy that will protect the property as a working ranch, provide public coastal access, and allow limited housing development. The agreement has critics and defenders.*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Preservation in Big Sur evolved through a set of practices typically involving the collaboration of public and private entities. Initially the movement was from public to private ownership as the U.S. government (and Mexico previously) subsidized western development by awarding cheap public land to those who would settle and improve family-size holdings. By the 1930s, however, movement in the other direction began along the Central Coast. In 1933, members of the pioneering Pfeiffer family decided they wanted to preserve portions of Big Sur Valley, where many of their second- and third-generation family members lived and operated a resort. William Colby, a Big Sur resident and

the second president (after John Muir) of the Sierra Club, encouraged the Pfeiffers to sell 500 acres at below-market price to the state parks system, leading to the creation (after several name changes) of Pfeiffer Big Sur State Park. In the same year, "the crown jewel of the California Park System" was created when the heirs of Alexander Allen sold 1,300 acres on Carmel Bay to the Point Lobos State Reserve. Allen had prospered building race tracks and used his wealth to preserve the point, buying 640 acres from a bankrupt coal company in 1898 and eventually supplanting a stone quarry, abalone cannery, and two proposed town developments (Carmelito in 1878 and Point Lobos City in 1890) on the site.<sup>14</sup>

The Big Sur tradition of returning the land to the public realm for protection and common use is inspired by the beauty and enjoyment of the landscape, according to testimony of donors. The pattern is striking and continues to the present. In 1968, the Molera family sold 2,200 acres of the original Cooper land grant to The Nature Conservancy, which held the beachfront property until the state could finance its purchase for the Andrew Molera State Park. An additional 2,400 acres east of Highway 1 were soon incorporated into the park, extending from the longest beach in Big Sur to the scenic headlands. In 1978, the 3,548-acre Landels-Hill Big Creek Reserve (part of the historic Gamboa Ranch) was added to the University of California Natural Reserve System through the concerted effort of The Nature Conservancy, Save-the-Redwoods League, and the UC Board of Regents. And in 2002, the U.S. Forest Service bought the 1,200-acre Brazil Ranch overlooking Bixby Bridge. These transfers alone restored some 15,000 acres to the public domain in preserves devoted to recreation and research without pre-empting space devoted to community uses. Indeed, the new parks attract tourists to local businesses and provide meeting places for community groups, including ones that meet to oppose public land acquisitions. Although the





*Pfeiffer's Resort in the Big Sur Valley operated from 1908 to 1935 as one of the best-known tourist destinations, if not the first, as well as the local post office. Florence (Swetnam) Pfeiffer ran the resort with her husband, John, and hosted frequent visitors, including the poet Robinson Jeffers and his wife, Una. The family later donated land for the Pfeiffer Redwoods State Park, a central feature of the valley today.*

COURTESY OF PAT HATHAWAY, CALIFORNIA VIEWS; PHOTOGRAPH BY LEWIS JOSSELYN

Brazil Ranch was sold to a government agency for want of a private buyer, the sale rekindled objections from the Coast Property Owners Association (CPOA) of Big Sur that claimed "if things keep going the way things are going, Big Sur will be a national park."<sup>15</sup>

## FROM PLAN TO CONFLICT

Contention has always characterized Big Sur. Early settlers helped one another, built local schools, and attended community picnics and dances. But these pioneers of nostalgic memory also quarreled over property lines, broke fences, and poisoned and maimed animals in acts of revenge. They struggled to make the hardscrabble land pay, sold out, moved on, and left the prosperous few to consolidate larger holdings. Some had no use for "civilization," although many welcomed the mail carrier, telephone, and county road. Civilization was a compromise. Improved roads made it easier to get to town with farm

produce and brought cash-paying customers to the first lodges and campgrounds, but it also brought wealthy investors, bohemian artists, and land speculators. This was the origin of Big Sur's division of social class and culture—functional and artistic, rural and urban, local and cosmopolitan, rich and poor—that persists today between affluent, coast-view homeowners and tourist industry and state and county government service workers.<sup>16</sup>

Prior to 1960 the role of government in Big Sur was minimal, devoted to maintaining roads, public lands, schools, and law enforcement. As early as 1930, environmental concerns brought about ordinances preventing billboards along the scenic highway, establishing a zoning precedent. In the late 1950s, the Monterey County Planning Commission decided to develop a master plan to provide guidelines for anticipated growth. During these years preceding the environmental movement, public concern centered on preserving Big Sur's rural character, balancing commercial and

agricultural interests, and entertaining tourists while limiting their impact on the landscape. The county hired the prominent San Francisco architecture and planning firm Skidmore, Owings & Merrill to conduct a study of the problem. The choice of firms revealed an interesting local connection: Nathaniel Owings and his conservationist wife, Margaret, owned property in Big Sur and the firm was associated with Monterey architects Hall and Goodhue. Owings was something of a visionary who believed that architecture should serve humanity and respect the natural world. He was rich, famous (for his firm's Crown Zellerbach Building in San Francisco and the redesign of Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House), influential, and, with Margaret, actively involved in preserving Big Sur's character.<sup>17</sup>

In August 1961 the (Owings) Coast Master Plan proposed a radical new vision for Big Sur, identifying preservation of the bountiful landscape as the principal goal and recommending that future growth be controlled in a manner that was harmonious with the natural setting. Highway 1 would remain a two-lane scenic road. New housing would be clustered to retain as much open space as possible. Concern was born for the "viewshed"—the landscape visible from Highway 1, unblemished by any new construction—as an object of preservation. All these objectives, moreover, would be implemented without turning the land over to any governmental agency, although the plan did call for expansion of Pfeiffer Big Sur State Park by an impressive 5,000 acres. The key provision, however, and what laid the ground for the central controversy that followed, set density requirements for future building at one house per ten acres along the shore and one house per twenty acres on land east of the highway. A system of transferable credits would allow more building in sheltered mountain areas for those contributing to open space on the coast. The plan included something for nearly everyone and something objectionable to most.<sup>18</sup>

Neighbors divided, old timers and newcomers split ranks. Anti-government forces liked the provision limiting agency involvement, while conservationists embraced park expansion and the plan's lofty general theme. Preservationists brought heavy political and cultural capital to the controversy. Nat Owings's friend Nicholas Roosevelt (Teddy's nephew), who lived on Partington Ridge, ten miles south of Big Sur Valley, lent his family pedigree in a supportive special issue of the *Monterey Peninsula Herald*. Legends of the coast came forward with endorsements: pioneers Joseph William Post and Hans and Esther Pfeiffer Ewoldsen, popular sculptor Harry Dick Ross, photographer Ansel Adams, Samuel Hopkins (descendant of California's famous Southern Pacific Railroad family), and William Colby of the Sierra Club. Cortlandt Hill, another railroad heir who in the 1950s had purchased 7,000 acres of the old Cooper ranch, favored everything but the state park expansion. The most vocal opposition focused on the density provision. Real estate interests in Carmel Highlands claimed that a standard of one house per ten acres would prevent potential development of available parcels, thus amounting to confiscation. Rancher James Doud, who owned 5,000 acres along the coast, claimed he would lose \$1.5 million in potential subdivision sales. Owings was accused of (and denied) profiting from development credits. More than one hundred exercised residents (pro and con) turned out for public hearings at the Big Sur Grange Hall and county offices in Salinas.<sup>19</sup>

Eventually a compromise was reached. Many residents liked something about the plan, motivating conservation and development interests to negotiate. Expansion of Pfeiffer Big Sur State Park was dropped in favor of a recommendation for a series of smaller parks along the coast. The two-lane scenic Highway 1 would remain unchanged. Other provisions for clustering buildings and preserving open space were "encouraged" rather than required. The big concession from planners was the significant reduction of the density



requirement from one house per ten- and twenty-acre parcels to one living unit per acre in tourist areas, one per two and a half acres west of the highway and one per five acres east of the highway in areas closer to Carmel, one per two and a half acres in established communities (e.g., Palo Colorado and Big Sur Valley), and a somewhat more restrictive standard (five- and ten-acre home sites) farther south. The coastal area between Little Sur and Big Sur rivers (Hill's El Sur Ranch) was designated for special treatment determined through presentation of development plans and individual study. Former opponents cheered the report, which was soon adopted by county supervisors. The Owings group gracefully accepted a deal far short of their ambitions.<sup>20</sup>

Finalized in 1962, the Coast Master Plan proved an important long-term victory for conservationists. Both the county and the local community now were formally committed to limits on growth. The viewshed as an object acquired a new salience. Protection of the natural landscape was established as the guiding principle of development a full decade before similar standards would be applied statewide in the Coastal Initiative. Big Sur was developing a new kind of environmental awareness in tandem with a few other leading areas like West Marin.<sup>21</sup>

## THE POLITICS OF PROTECTION

The 1970s witnessed an awakening of interest in the environment regionally and nationally on a par with the creation of national parks and public land stewardship at the turn of the twentieth century. Earth Day in 1970 launched an environmental movement that penetrated the national consciousness. The popular movement led to passage in the same year of the National Environmental Policy Act and its state equivalent, the California Environmental Quality Act. These laws set new standards for clean air and water, hazardous waste disposal, protection of the land

and sea, endangered species, and procedures for evaluating new development with environmental impact reports. The movement and subsequent legislation responded to a perception of growing threats to the environment and public health: the familiar mix of urban sprawl, toxic contamination of rivers and groundwater, smog, clear-cutting forests, depletion of fisheries, oil spills from offshore drilling. For a time, at least, the public demanded protection.

Concern for the degradation of California's coastline also took political shape around 1970 as signs of despoliation along the coast multiplied. The population of southern California's coastal counties had doubled in the previous decade. Unregulated and often unsightly building along the coast destroyed ocean views and restricted public access to beaches. Water quality and wildlife were palpably threatened; species vanished and lagoons were polluted with sewage and toxic runoff. Shabby development was most extensive in San Diego, Santa Monica, Malibu, and Ventura but was heading inexorably north. Sea Ranch, a projected development of 5,200 vacation and second homes in Sonoma County, threatened to eliminate public access to ten miles of scenic coastline until an alliance of environmentalists prevailed on developers to redesign the project. A textbook case was the building of a freestanding, multistoried hotel on the bay in Monterey by Holiday Inn, considered by some both an eyesore and a harbinger of "Miami Beachization."<sup>22</sup>

In 1972 the campaign for Proposition 20, the Coastal Initiative, was led by a coalition of environmentalists under the banner "Save Our Coast." Opposing corporate and development interests (Southern Pacific Land Company, Standard Oil, Pacific Gas and Electric, Mobil Oil, Gulf Oil, Texaco, General Electric, Southern California Edison, and a number of land companies) concentrated their efforts on mass media advertising, outspending proponents six to one. Misleading ads intoned "Conservation Yes, Confiscation No."

*In the early 1970s, a hotel built originally by Holiday Inn provoked defenders of a public coastline and contributed to the success of the 1972 Coastal Initiative. The hotel was considered an eyesore and inappropriate use of the shoreline where constructions are threatened by tidal erosion. Under the California Coastal Act of 1976 projects of this kind probably would be prohibited. Efforts are now under way to extend public protection and use to much of the Monterey Bay shoreline.*

COURTESY OF JOHN WALTON



Indeed, corporate heavy-handedness became an issue in the media campaign. The initiative's supporters effectively claimed popular sympathy through neighborhood leafleting, personal campaigning by senior citizens and Sierra Club youth, and folksy published appeals from Carmel artist Hank Ketcham's Dennis the Menace.<sup>23</sup>

Support for the initiative was especially vigorous in Monterey County, where a large Sierra Club chapter mobilized the petition drive to place the measure on the ballot. Ansel Adams, the renowned photographer who worked out of a Carmel Highlands studio, contributed images to the publicity campaign. Local fears of coastal ruin were aroused by offshore oil drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel, a proposed refinery at nearby Moss Landing, and the new Holiday Inn. Monterey was a microcosm of activist support for the Coastal Initiative. The petition drive garnered more than 9,000 local signatures. When the proposition won a solid statewide victory in the November 1972 election, matching Richard Nixon's 55 percent majority, Monterey County's votes were high, with 58 percent in favor.

After much delay and compromise, the California Coastal Act passed the legislature in 1976, establishing the California Coastal Commission as formal machinery to meet legislative require-

ments. The commission works in partnership with oceanfront counties and city governments, setting standards for new construction, public access, protection of marine life and coastal wildlife, restoration of sensitive habitats, and protection of scenic beauty. The teeth of the Coastal Act are its powers to review, deny, and refer back to local developers and governments projects it judges in violation of environmental standards. Critics believe that the commission's organizational operation has lost the enthusiasm that once fueled the reform movement and has become vulnerable to political influence. Although the commission's fortunes rise and fall with successive state administrations (generally on a supportive Democrat and grudging Republican cycle), for more than thirty years it has been a contending force in environmental politics, preventing numerous massive building projects and noxious industrial developments and ensuring expanded public use of beaches. Travelers familiar with Miami, Malibu, Spain's Costa del Sol, or England's southern shore are impressed with what they see in northern California. Nevertheless, environmental critics argue that much has slipped past the commission's oversight, citing unrelenting pressures from developers and new environmental threats unanticipated at the time of the original legislation.<sup>24</sup>



The Coastal Act also provided for community-level participation, recognizing local planning districts and delegating to them land-use decisions subject to the commission's review. Local authority, however, required that the planning districts (Local Coastal Program, or LCP) develop a plan (Land Use Plan, or LUP) adopted by the appropriate unit of local government (town, county) and then certified by the commission. The Big Sur planning district was defined geographically as that area of Monterey County from Mal Paso Creek in Carmel Highlands south to the San Luis Obispo County line and from the ocean to the crest of the Santa Lucia Mountains—a 72-mile coastal strip comprising 1,500 people, 150,000 acres (75,000 national forest, 55,000 private, 9,000 state parks, and the balance state and regional special preservation districts), and some of the nation's most dramatic scenery. The Citizens' Advisory Committee (CAC), liaising between Big Sur residents and members of the LCP, was charged with drafting the LUP.<sup>25</sup>

The conflict reached its apogee in the late 1970s as community representatives formulated an LCP to address Big Sur residents' concerns that the commission would impose regulations adverse to local interests and threaten the fragile consensus that had been reached since passage of the 1962 Coast Master Plan. Monterey County began its LCP by working through the CAC and seeking local input on a new document that would supersede the Coast Master Plan, and that, once approved by the commission, would become the governing authority for land-use decisions. The policy debate, though vigorous and contentious, was also a local discussion premised on revising the Coast Master Plan in view of the new Coastal Act and aimed at establishing a new set of rules for local control.<sup>26</sup>

#### "FEDERALIZATION" VS. LOCAL AUTONOMY

The political storm over Big Sur broke in April 1980 when Senator Alan Cranston proposed a bill (S2551) that would appropriate \$100 million for land acquisition on the Big Sur coast over a ten-year period to form the nation's first national scenic area. Local sentiments erupted. Here was evidence of a planned federal takeover of the community. Outsiders were behind the scheme. For several years a group called the Big Sur Foundation had been meeting at the home of Ansel Adams, who had photographed President Jimmy Carter in the White House and was thought to have the ear of politicians from the White House to Monterey. He also garnered support from the Sierra Club and Wilderness Society to create a national park in Big Sur resembling his beloved Yosemite. The Big Sur Foundation had no presence in Big Sur proper. Locals organized by Gary Koeppel—publisher of the *Big Sur Gazette*, a bimonthly newspaper launched in 1978 and devoted to local autonomy—and James Josoff's Friends of the Big Sur Coast perceived it as an alien, elitist menace. The Big Sur community mounted a campaign against Adams, Cranston, and their planned "federalization." Local citizens took their case to Washington and enlisted Cranston's nemesis, Senator S. I. Hayakawa of California, to oppose the bill.

As it turned out, the Cranston bill enjoyed little public support outside the environmental lobby. After mostly negative Senate testimony, it was shelved. The real difficulties came in the aftermath of Cranston's legislation, when Representative Leon Panetta introduced an alternative measure in the House of Representatives (HR 7380) in 1981 outlining a much different approach. The Panetta plan did not create a national park but proposed a preservationist alliance headed by the U.S. secretary of agriculture (the administrative head of the U.S. Forest Service), who would share power with a council of local officials and residents, all bound by a



*Senator Alan Cranston's proposal for a \$100 million national scenic area accelerated the conflict among federal, state, and local interests. A photograph in the April 1980 issue of the Big Sur Gazette documented a rare meeting of opposing sides at Nepenthe: (left to right) Will Shaw, architect and founder and president of Big Sur Foundation (at far left, hidden); Ansel Adams, photographer and vice president of Big Sur Foundation; Leon Panetta, congressman; Roger Newell, Big Sur resident and Citizens' Advisory Committee member; Saunders Hillyer, director of the Big Sur Foundation; James Josoff, president of Friends of the Big Sur Coast; Ron Tipton, Wilderness Society representative; Charles Cushman, executive director of the American Land Rights Association, formerly the National Innholders Association; and Stanley Diamond, representative for Senator S. I. Hayakawa.*

COURTESY ANITA ALAN; PHOTOGRAPH BY PAULA WALLING

master plan incorporating the Big Sur LCP. Final authority would rest with the federal agency, thus skirting the Coastal Commission. Preservationists argued that the commission would be subject to shifting political winds while the federal environmental commitment was steadfast—an open question, as time would show. For better or worse, the local resistance movement would hear none of it. They distrusted their political representatives. Successive issues of the *Big Sur Gazette* called Panetta's bill a "counterfeit" claiming to give local authority while intending federal domination. There was some truth in the charge. In fact, Panetta's formula for interagency collaboration had been modified in Representative Phil Burton's parks committee, which redrafted the final version and shifted power upwards. Although the bill passed the House, it died in the Senate, thanks again to Hayakawa, who blocked a vote before adjournment.

The Cranston-Panetta legislative battle left bitter feelings. Positions hardened. Local residents considered themselves the true stewards of the land and accused outsiders of wanting to stifle

growth and expropriate property for federal occupation. Conservationists, including some Big Sur residents, said the resistance movement fronted for developers and indulged a conspiracy theory of the political process. These positions, though extreme, poisoned relations between local groups and delayed negotiations on a new LCP that would authorize mechanisms of local control—the exact solution preferred by both sides.

An irony permeates Big Sur. At bottom, opposing groups agree on most fundamentals yet cast one another as enemies. In 1984, Alisa Fineman, a student at the University of California, Santa Cruz, conducted a perceptive study as her senior thesis, interviewing forty Big Sur residents on both sides of the federal legislation question. Regulation opponents and Friends of the Big Sur Coast expressed their belief that property owners were effective stewards; that local government was adequate to the task of environmental protection; and that federal management would destroy rather than preserve Big Sur's unique social and physical ecology. Supporters of stronger protections asserted that growth and development

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(including existing plans for massive hotels) posed a threat. They favored the Panetta approach—federal, state, county, and citizen planning collaboration to counter lax local stewardship and apathetic residents who rallied only at times of crisis—over the Cranston bill. Their logic argued that a stronger local land-use plan was precisely the best defense against federal intervention. In fact, no one favored federalization. Everyone agreed that preserving the landscape was a key to Big Sur's economic and cultural survival. Summarizing the controversy, the *Monterey Herald* headlined "Goal of Big Sur Preservation Agreed by All—Only the Methods Disputed." The conflict had the paradoxical effect of mobilizing people and clarifying issues in ways that would help them break through the impasse.<sup>27</sup>

#### THE BIG SUR LAND TRUST: ONE MODEL OF PRESERVATION

In the late 1970s, a small group of environmentalists who had met initially as participants in the Citizens' Advisory Committee to the county planning process decided to form their own organization. They were looking for new ways to promote environmental protection that were compatible with the standards set by the Coast Master Plan and the Coastal Commission. How, they asked, could Big Sur's natural beauty be protected "from overdevelopment without recourse to government control while recognizing the right of property owners to sell to whomever they wish (other private parties, nonprofit organizations, or public agencies)"? Their question was answered in 1977 at a meeting at the home of Nancy and Sam Hopkins during which planner Gordon Hall (a Coast Master Plan consultant) made a presentation about land trusts. Afterward, the group, including Zad Leavy, Roger Newell, Sherna Stewart, and Lloyd Addelman, journeyed to the San Francisco headquarters of The Trust for Public Land for a short course in land-trust finance and management. This, they all agreed, was the vehi-

cle they had been looking for. In February 1978 they established The Big Sur Land Trust (BSLT) as a nonprofit corporation under the laws of the state of California, with gifts of the \$1,250 filing fee from Peter Harding, another member of the initial group, and an undivided half-interest in twenty-four acres just north of the Esalen Institute from its co-founder Michael Murphy.<sup>28</sup>

The preservationist model adopted by BSLT follows a venerable American tradition. In the nineteenth century, village improvement societies were formed in New England as nonprofit organizations to protect public spaces. The village commons and common fields provided traditional precedents of public land use in England and Spanish America. The first land trusts in the United States that built on this legacy were the Massachusetts Trustees of Reservations, founded in 1891, and the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, established a decade later. By 1950, there were fifty-three land trusts operating in twenty-six states. Currently there are more than 2,000 land trusts, some organized as local affiliates of large national associations, such as the Trust for Public Land and The Nature Conservancy, and others as independent regional trusts, such as BSLT. Within this national movement, BSLT ranks in reputation with notable trusts in Washington's San Juan Islands, Wyoming's Jackson Hole, New York's Adirondacks, and Maine's Acadia National Park.

The Land Trust Alliance, which represents more than 1,600 land trusts across the country, defines a land trust as "a nonprofit organization that, as all or part of its mission, actively works to conserve land by undertaking or assisting direct land transactions—primarily the purchase or acceptance of donations of land or conservation easements." A conservation easement (or scenic easement) is further defined as "a legal agreement that permanently restricts the development and use of land to ensure protection of its conservation values." The economic incentive for

owners to negotiate conservation easements is tax relief. As is the case with charitable gifts, the landowner who donates permanent developmental restrictions may deduct from income taxes an amount calculated by subtracting the value of the property with restrictions from the fair market value of the property. The one-time-only income tax benefit is enhanced by a continuing property tax reduction. A nonprofit land trust is the necessary intermediary for these arrangements.<sup>29</sup>

Land trusts do four things: (1) purchase land for preservation, (2) acquire land through donations, (3) secure conservation easements on land and monitor the terms of these agreements, and (4) work in partnership with private and governmental conservation agencies. These basic functions involve a variety of related activities. According to the donor's wish, land may be retained in fee title by the trust (as a preserve, for example) or transferred to some other public (county or state park) or private (foundation) organization. Lands that are held must be maintained and therefore require that the land trust raise funds and make provisions for stewardship. Another essential task requiring staff and budget involves supervising conformity with the conditions of conservation easements. In its thirty-year history, BSLT has protected more than 30,000 acres of coastal land in a hundred separate transactions.

Several remarkable properties illustrate the variety of methods and partnerships in BSLT's work. The trust holds title to relatively few properties. The headlands above Palo Colorado Canyon include the 900-acre Glen Deven Ranch, deeded by the family of Dr. Seeley and Virginia Mudd to the trust for public educational uses. The 1,100-acre Arthur and Harriet Mitteldorf Preserve in Carmel Valley was purchased by the namesake couple for public use under BSLT management. More typically, BSLT negotiates purchases of properties for eventual transfer to the state or county parks systems. The trust saved Point

Lobos Ranch, just east of the original state park, from a proposed hotel resort development, and 1,300 acres were added to the park in a complicated transaction whereby BSLT guaranteed the private sellers a ten-year mortgage as state funds from the 1990 Wildlife Protection Act (Proposition 117) became available on a year-to-year basis.

According to Zad Leavy, the trust's longtime executive director, BSLT pioneered the "conservation buyer" method in 1989, when Hewlett-Packard co-founder David Packard purchased a 3,000-acre portion of the south coast Gamboa Ranch (the other half went to the University of California's Landels-Hill Big Creek Reserve) at a reduced price predicated on an agreement not to develop the property beyond its ranch character. By agreeing to the deal, the sellers (a New York law firm that acquired the property in a foreclosure sale) were able to claim a large "loss" from market value and tax deduction. Coming at the height of controversy over the Coastal Commission, the purchase was hotly contested by some local business owners. Although threatened lawsuits never materialized, hostility toward BSLT developed in the local Coast Property Owners Association (CPOA) and the closely associated *Big Sur Gazette*. The *Gazette* accused Leavy of a conflict of interest in his roles as Coastal Commission member and BSLT's legal adviser and charged BSLT with following deceptive practices in the land deal, conducting a campaign to eliminate private property in the region, and "federalizing" ownership in one inclusive preserve—charges the trust rejected with the observation that it dealt only with willing sellers, many of whom placed easements on property that remained in private hands. The BSLT-CPOA conflict has become part of the political landscape, although the constituencies of each group do share common goals and on some occasions actually have joined forces.<sup>30</sup>





*Point Lobos State Reserve on Carmel Bay was established in 1933 and expanded several times to include the underwater coastal perimeter and extensive adjacent land east of the Coast Highway. Point Lobos was once slated for development as the suburban village of Carmelito and later the proposed site of a hotel complex. In its natural state it forms what the painter Francis McComas called "the greatest meeting of land and water in the world."*

COURTESY, CALIFORNIA HISTORY ROOM, MONTEREY PUBLIC LIBRARY

In the midst of the controversies over development in Big Sur, a variety of other organizations moved toward protecting land. In 1970, a group of Sierra Club members organized the Committee for Open Space. Earl Moser, a retired oil company executive who led the earlier Citizens for Clean Air campaign to stop construction of a refinery at Moss Landing on Monterey Bay, chaired the new grassroots effort. The committee acquired 5,000 signatures to place Measure A on the November 1971 ballot, successfully creating the Monterey Peninsula Regional Park District (MPRPD). Permanently funded by a small property tax assessment, the district has acquired a number of grants, which, when combined, provide for the purchase and maintenance of parklands. MPRPD currently manages 5,500 acres, including the heavily used 3,374-acre Garland Ranch Regional Park in Carmel Valley (gifted by the late William Garland in 1975) and the 1,340-acre Mill Creek Preserve in the heart of Big Sur. Apropos of the regional environmental network, Earl Moser later became president of BSLT and the trust's Zad Leavy served on the MPRPD Board.<sup>31</sup>

At the same time, the state's park system was expanding its nearly 15,000-acre recreational lands in the region. Point Lobos State Reserve more than doubled its size with the purchase of 1,700 acres on the adjacent east side of Highway 1. Facilitated by BSLT, the action stopped new hotel development plans. In 1985, the California Department of Parks and Recreation opened Garrapata State Park on the northern Big Sur coast. The park's 2,879 acres span both sides of Highway 1 near Palo Colorado, a favorite hiking venue. The Monterey/Carmel/Big Sur region counts at least a dozen environmental organizations, public and private, with overlapping memberships and interorganizational connections. Some, like the Ventana Wilderness Alliance, are devoted to maintaining public lands. Many land-saving initiatives follow a pattern of collaborative action involving private owners, state and regional governments,

nonprofit organizations, and citizens' committees. Organizational density and interconnection define the local environmental coalition.<sup>32</sup>

## EL SUR RANCH: A CASE IN POINT

Events surrounding the development of El Sur Ranch during the 1980s and 1990s shaped conservation policy on the Central Coast in decisive ways. In one sense, the importance of El Sur is obvious. When the Cooper ranch (including the original 9,000-acre Rancho El Sur grant plus nearly 3,000 acres of resale homestead land) was divided in the 1950s, the southern 4,800 acres became the Molera Ranch (and later state park) and the northern 7,100 acres formed El Sur (Hill) Ranch. Comprising six miles along the coast highway between Little Sur River and Molera Beach, where the Big Sur River enters the ocean, El Sur Ranch offers some of the coast's most striking scenery. Within its boundaries—12 percent of Big Sur's privately held land—are long stretches of beach, rolling hills and pastures, tablelands that slope to the shoreline, Point Sur promontory and lighthouse, and the gateway to Big Sur Valley. Nowhere is the coastal panorama more fully displayed. But El Sur Ranch is also important as the object of fundamental, decades-old policy decisions that continue to affect land-use practice on California's coast.<sup>33</sup>

Courtland Hill, grandson of James J. Hill, founder of the Great Northern Railway, purchased Rancho El Sur in the 1950s. Later he passed it on to his son and, by 1980, to his grandson, James J. Hill III. As a student at California Polytechnic State University, the younger James, facing inheritance and property taxes in excess of his cash reserves, employed the San Francisco architectural firm Whisler-Patri to design a plan for developing the property that would keep it undivided and devoted to cattle ranching. The plan covered a mere 2-percent of ranch land but included a 200-room hotel, conference center, restaurant, and campground with 200 rustic cabins.



When Hill's resort development plan was announced to the press in spring 1981, designer Piero Patri made it clear that it had not been submitted for approval of the required permits: "We are really only presenting this today as a response to the LCP process." It soon became clear that several strategies were in play. Hill had approached the Coastal Conservancy, a land-preserving adjunct of the California Coastal Commission, with a proposal for generating income and tax savings. In August 1983, the conservancy agreed to pay \$1 million for a conservation easement on 1,400 acres on the east side of the highway south of Little Sur River and the outright purchase of another 1,200 acres. Hill also agreed to donate 1,100 acres of conservation easement, which would offset a portion of his capital gains tax on the \$1 million sale. The transaction was businesslike. The state gained the conservation of 3,700 splendid acres, 1,200 in public ownership. Yet Hill also benefited. The El Sur Ranch Agricultural Preservation and Resource Enhancement Plan, as the conservancy-approved agreement was called, included the hefty tax credit, return of 250 acres from Molera Park to El Sur Ranch to "minimize visitor intrusion," and retention of development rights for the hotel, restaurant, and residential sites on 3,400 unaffected acres of the ranch.<sup>34</sup>

Within a year, Hill's development plan reappeared in the form of a new proposal submitted to the Monterey County Planning Department. The plan now included a 100-room hotel in three or four buildings plus a 200-seat restaurant, both on the west side of Highway 1; ninety-eight homes outside the viewshed, sale of land, and easements on some 3,000 acres; and a guarantee that these development rights could be exercised at any time over the next twenty-five years. Although a privately commissioned environmental impact report listed twenty-three potential negative impacts and the county staff expressed reservations, the Monterey County Board of Supervisors approved the plan in late 1984.<sup>35</sup>

Public reaction was immediate, vocal, and overwhelmingly hostile. The Big Sur community protested both the size of the development and the special treatment accorded Hill. The project was called "an alien intrusion which opens the door to large-scale, corporate-style resort developments . . . totally irresponsible and destructive in a fragile environment [which has] a long-standing commitment to preservation." Others alleged that the Big Sur LCP, which limits hotels outside rural service centers to thirty units and encourages rural, family-style, local ownership and operation, was treating Hill preferentially. Fortunately for the opposition, the development plan still required Coastal Commission approval. Fifty protesting Big Sur residents attended commission hearings on the project in April 1985. Deviating from its standard nonpolitical position, BSLT joined local residents in opposition. After hearing the testimony, "the Coastal Commission delivered a stunning 10-0 rejection of a development agreement approved by ranch owner Jim Hill and the Monterey County Board of Supervisors," the *Carmel Pine Cone* reported.<sup>36</sup>

During the six-month conflict over the El Sur Ranch deal, an election had taken place that returned two new members to the board of supervisors. Both Sam Karas and Karin Strasser Kaufman, representing the fifth district, which includes Big Sur, opposed the development and owed some of their election support to citizens advocating a revised coastal plan. The board of supervisors now withdrew the version of the Big Sur LCP that was pending final review by the Coastal Commission and began new hearings aimed at a more current and effective regulation. Strasser Kaufman led the popular campaign, attracting varied local groups and drawing from lessons of the aborted agreement. The controversy helped define a new policy.<sup>37</sup>

Sentiment on revision favored small-scale and locally owned operations, low density,

growth limits, transient rather than “point-of-destination” traffic and accommodations, housing for local service employees, and enforcement of critical viewshed policies. Ironically, the CPOA and BSLT, which had been on different sides of earlier issues, now expressed agreement on most fundamentals. The CPOA urged further conditions that would block “federalization” of Big Sur by outlawing the transfer of property to government agencies. That provision, however, would conflict with the constitutional right of a property owner to sell to whomever he or she wishes. In fact, the U.S. Forest Service is the major landowner in Big Sur and many long-term residents have happily sold to that federal agency in the absence of other buyers. The larger result, nevertheless, was a new political consensus on preservation and limits of growth.

In October 1985 the Monterey County Board of Supervisors adopted the new Big Sur Coast LUP “with an almost audible sigh of collective relief [after] ten years in the making,” and the Coastal Commission gave final approval in April 1986. In official terminology, the LUP is the “primary component” of the state-mandated LCP. Concretely, the 1986 LUP was the new law of the coast, superseding Nathaniel Owings’ 1962 Coast Master Plan. Yet the new and old plans were similar in many respects, most importantly in the priority they gave to preservation and the viewshed. As the 1986 plan states, “The overall direction for the future of the Big Sur Coast is based around the theme of preserving the outstanding natural environment. . . . The County’s basic policy is to prohibit all future public or private development visible from Highway 1.” The 125-page document also details norms for resource management, land use and development, and public access, focusing in all these areas on limited growth, small scale, local control, and preservation of the natural landscape as the basic resource from which all the others derive. Some exceptions were written into the plan and sev-

eral businesses owned by CPOA activists were exempted. In the end, however, the Big Sur LUP forcibly reaffirmed conservation values based on historical tradition and decades of government-citizen policy collaboration. The plan has been described as one of the strongest local environmental programs in the country.<sup>38</sup>

The growing concern for open-space preservation characteristic of the Big Sur conflict was reflected in statewide action in the 1980s. A series of ballot initiatives and bond measures was proposed by the legislature and, in many cases, passed by the electorate. Proposition 18 (1984) appropriated \$370 million for land acquisition, fostering recreation and wildlife preservation. Proposition 43 (1986) gave \$100 million for local parks. But the greatest of these measures was Proposition 70, which provided \$776 million for wildlife, coastal, and parkland conservation, funds that were allocated to and administered by county governments. Many of the groups that were active in the El Sur Ranch controversy and LUP revision joined the referendum campaign in support of Proposition 70. Strasser Kaufman promoted the initiative publicly and BSLT helped circulate petitions statewide. The initiative passed by an impressive 65 percent in June 1988.<sup>39</sup>

Monterey County received \$25 million in Proposition 70 funding for use in Big Sur. The new law required that land eligible for preservation be located within the viewshed and deemed “buildable” by the county. The idea, of course, was to protect visible land from development. BSLT volunteered its services to landowners making application to the county. Initial acquisitions were small and strategic. During the decade of acquisition under Proposition 70, twenty-five properties were protected. BSLT acted as the intermediary for tax benefits in seventeen of these transactions totaling nearly 200 acres of prime viewshed.

The first twenty-four purchases consumed more than \$13 million, leaving a healthy balance in



the fund. In June 1991, James Hill reopened discussions with BSLT, proposing the sale of development rights to viewshed land on 3,550 acres not covered in previous easements on the El Sur Ranch and reasserting his right to develop land outside the viewshed east of Highway 1. The county agreed to pay \$11.5 million for the easement, a figure described by Hill interests as well below a \$16 million appraisal. Others characterized the amount as nearly half the county's total allocation from Proposition 70 and a generous reward for parting with development rights that were themselves subject to county land-use and Coastal Commission regulation. Hill also received credit for a "charitable donation" of \$4.5 million, the difference between the appraised and sale prices.<sup>40</sup>

## USEFUL LESSONS AND LOOMING THREATS

In the thirty years since the controversy over the California Coastal Act began, progress has been made toward agreement between the various actors in the Big Sur development conflict. Proposed development at El Sur Ranch and Point Lobos has united resident advocates of limited and locally controlled growth with county officials and planners working within structures created by the California Coastal Commission. The CPOA and BSLT have worked the same side of the street. Under the threat of outside intervention, local interests of all stripes have hammered out a tough LCP. Ironically, the cumulative 1986 Big Sur LUP took protection of the once-controversial viewshed as its centerpiece and crafted a multi-agency collaborative mechanism resembling Representative Panetta's original bill. Contending interests now compete with one another from different philosophical positions for the more effective practical policy. The result is broader participation and convergence on more satisfactory solutions. The peace is regularly threatened as, for example, in 1986, when Senator Pete Wilson briefly proposed another

national scenic area bill (S2159) and when the county master plan came up for review in the late 1990s. Potential conflict lies in wait.

Recent years have witnessed both continuing public-private collaboration and new threats to environmental protection. In 2002, The Nature Conservancy and BSLT negotiated the purchase by the state of the Palo Corona Ranch overlooking Carmel Bay for \$37 million, drawn largely from bond funds (Proposition 40). BSLT Director Cory Brown persuaded Governor Gray Davis to commit state funds to the purchase in an eleventh-hour action. Palo Corona is at once the latest, largest, most visible, and costliest addition to Big Sur's protected lands, embracing 9,898 acres that extend eleven miles from the south bank of the Carmel River and Highway 1 to Palo Colorado Canyon. The property includes sixteen watersheds, seven creeks in addition to the Carmel River, extensive redwood groves, and a variety of wildlife from mountain lions to steelhead trout. The ranch borders twelve other protected properties from Point Lobos State Reserve to Los Padres National Forest. The Monterey Peninsula Regional Park District will manage a 500-acre recreational area in the northern portion of the property with the rest preserved as wilderness. Adventurous hikers can now walk from Carmel to Hearst Castle without ever leaving land under some form of public protection.

Yet serious threats loom. During the past decade, environmental protection has lost some of its salience among national political commitments. Demographic pressures argue for new development, particularly in the West, California, and along the coast. The state struggles with fiscal limitations that may cripple the once-generous conservation effort. About 85 percent of all the money raised for land purchases and easements in Big Sur derive from state sources. Without public support, conservation on a broad scale is impossible. It is also true that public lands have been mismanaged by government agencies that



*The 10,000-acre Palo Corona Ranch was permanently protected in 2002 by a \$35 million purchase using state bond funds and brokered by The Nature Conservancy and The Big Sur Land Trust. Operated jointly by the Monterey Peninsula Regional Park District and the California State Parks Department, the northern portions of the park overlooking Carmel Bay are open to the public.*

COURTESY OF THE BIG SUR LAND TRUST

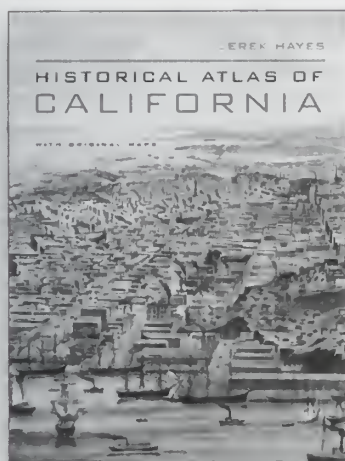
have allowed clear cutting of forests and mining, resulting in toxic chemical by-products. Land trusts, misused for tax evasion and profit by developers, are criticized for acting as agents in land acquisitions that involve hefty commissions despite their nonprofit status. Local opponents of public land management have legitimate grievances over the scarcity and high price of housing in Big Sur. Many service workers commute long distances from lower-rent towns like Watsonville. But land preservation is scarcely the cause of inflated real estate prices everywhere or the failure of affordable housing. Conversely, public access to the land contributes to a healthy economy and jobs. As local historian Jeff Norman observes, "Most of the purchases of land have not involved people losing their houses, and they have increased tourism."<sup>41</sup>

If the short term appears threatening, the longer historical record offers encouragement, useful lessons, and evidence of success. After all the explanations for achievement have been explored, however, something still remains, some elusive ingredient of the story. Perhaps Henry Miller was right when he wrote that "the place itself" creates the "humility and reverence" for improving ourselves.

JOHN WALTON is Distinguished Research Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Davis. He is the author of *Storied Land: Community and Memory in Monterey* (University of California Press, 2003), *Free Markets and Food Riots* (Blackwell Publishers, 1994), the award-winning *Western Times and Water Wars: State, Culture, and Rebellion in California* (University of California Press, 1992), and *Reluctant Rebels* (Columbia University Press, 1984). He lives in Carmel Valley, where he is involved in various environmental activities.



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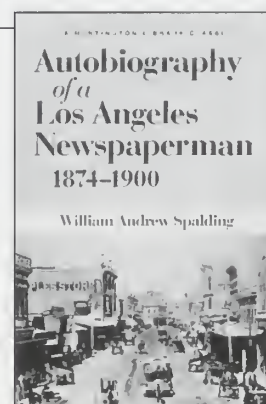
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# NOTES

EMPOWERMENT, EXPANSION, AND ENGAGEMENT: LAS JUNTAS PATRIÓTICAS IN CALIFORNIA, 1848–1869, BY DAVID E. HAYES-BAUTISTA, CYNTHIA L. CHAMBERLIN, BRANDEN JONES, JUAN CARLOS CORNEJO, CECILIA CAÑADAS, CARLOS MARTINEZ, AND GLORIA MEZA, PP 4–23

Translations by Dr. David E. Hayes-Bautista and Cynthia L. Chamberlin

<sup>1</sup> "Latino" is a generic, collective term, here used to refer to persons of Californio, Mexican, Central American, South American, Iberian Peninsular, Spanish-speaking Caribbean, or other Latin American origin or culture residing in California during the period under investigation. Then, as now, various terms were used by Latinos to describe the group with which they identified. In the 1850s, the newspaper *El Clamor Público* used at least five different terms for this purpose: "Hispano-Americano" (vol. 1, no. 34 [16 February 1856], 1), "español" (vol. 1, no. 35 [23 February 1856], 1), "hijos de la America Española" (vol. 1, no. 14, [18 September 1855], 1), "nuestra raza" (vol. 1, no. 35, [23 February 1856], 1), and even the modern-sounding "raza Latina" (vol. 4, no. 20, [13 November 1858], 1). A paper in preparation explores Latino concepts of identity during the period 1850–1869, including both particular (e.g., "Sonorense," "Californio," "Nuevo Granadino," "cholo") and universal (e.g., "Hispano-Americano") terms.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890*, updated ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Andrew F. Rolle, *California: A History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1969), 309–13.

<sup>3</sup> The term "Atlantic-American" is used in this article to refer to persons belonging to the culture of the Atlantic, southern, and midwestern states regardless of individual ancestry, race, or ethnic background. Such persons share a common culture, with some regional variations, which in large part derives from European roots, particularly from the British Isles. For greater detail on the derivation and use of the terms "Atlantic-American" and "Latino," see David E. Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2004), 5–13.

<sup>4</sup> Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1968), 162–63; Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a*

*Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848–1930* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University, 2005), 53–60, 65–66; Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850–1890: A Social History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1979), 74–84; Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: a History of Chicanos* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2000), 143.

<sup>5</sup> The term "Californio" is used here as an ethnic designation to mean both those Latinos born in California under Spanish and Mexican rule, who automatically became U.S. citizens in 1848 under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and their descendants born in California after 1848.

<sup>6</sup> The life of newspapers in nineteenth-century California, in any language, tended to be short. The combined paper *El Nuevo Mundo* and *La Voz de Chile* was published for nearly twenty years (1867–87) and was one of the longest-lived Spanish-language papers of that century. Only the later *La Crónica* of Los Angeles (1872–92) and its successor, *Las Dos Repúblicas* (1892–98), had a similar life span, about half that of the longest-lived English-language paper, *Alta California* (1849–91). The span of some papers, such as *El Bien Social*, *El Republicano*, and *El Tiempo* can be measured in months. Microfilm copies of these newspapers were obtained as follows: *El Nuevo Mundo* and *Las Dos Repúblicas* from the Chicano Studies Library at the University of California, Berkeley; *La Voz de Chile* and *La Crónica* from the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; *Alta California*, *El Bien Social*, *El Republicano*, and *El Tiempo* from the Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles; the *Los Angeles Star* from Special Collections at the Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Costeloe, "The Junta Patriótica and the Celebration of Independence in Mexico City, 1825–1855," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 13 (1997): 21–53.

<sup>8</sup> The Hajar-Padrés colonists included twenty-two teachers. Antonio F. Coronel, who arrived with the Hajar-Padrés colony at age sixteen, later reported to Hubert Howe Bancroft in 1877, "Many sons of the country who are today men of importance and have been important, owe to them [the colony's teachers] the little education and knowledge they possess." As Coronel was active in junta activity since at least 1845, we infer that junta knowledge may well have

been part of the Hajar-Padrés legacy. Alan Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California: The Hajar-Padres Colony and Its Origins, 1769–1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1969), pp. 323–24; José Antonio Carrillo and Narciso Botello to Antonio F. Coronel, 15 August 1845, *Documentos para la Historia de California, 1821–1872*, calendared in Bancroft MSS C-B 75, p. 239, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

<sup>9</sup> Automobile Club of Southern California, *The Mother Lode of California* (Los Angeles: Automobile Club of Southern California, 1959), 10, 17, 21, 24; William B. Clark, "Gold Districts of California," *Bulletin* 193, California Division of Mines and Geology (Sacramento: California Division of Mines and Geology, 1970), 39, 69, 123; Francisco Salazar, *The Gold of Old Hornitos* (Fresno, CA: Saga-West, 1964), 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Los Angeles Star*, vol. 4, no. 19 (21 September 1854), 3.

<sup>11</sup> "Desde que California pasó al poder de los Estados Unidos no se había celebrado en esta ciudad el aniversario de la independencia Mexicana como lo fué el 16 del corriente," *El Clamor Público*, vol. 1, no. 14 (18 September 1855), 2.

<sup>12</sup> "Los mexicanos residentes en California han celebrado por todas partes el glorioso aniversario de la independencia de su patria," *El Clamor Público*, vol. 1, no. 16 (2 October 1855), 2.

<sup>13</sup> *El Clamor Público*, vol. 5, no. 13 (24 September 1859), 2. For reasons as yet unclear, some groups continued to call themselves juntas patrióticas after 1863, while others called themselves "clubes patrióticos" and still others preferred "sociedades patrióticas." We suspect this proliferation of terminologies had to do with internal debates and divisions within the overall junta movement. Future research will expand on this. During the period of the Mexican Republic, Latinos in California were involved in Mexican political debates, such as issues of federalism versus centralism, to the point of declaring independence from Mexico until certain conditions were met.

<sup>14</sup> For example, although Andrés Pico represented Los Angeles County and J.M. Covarrubias represented Santa Barbara County in the 1851 and 1852 sessions of the State Assembly, respectively, no Latino represented any northern California county at those sessions. See *The Statutes of California Passed at the Second Session of the Legislature Begun on the Sixth Day of January, 1851, and*

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*Ended on the First Day of May, 1851, at the City of San Jose* ([San Francisco]: Eugene Casserly, State Printer, 1851), 777; *The Statutes of California Passed at the Third Session of the Legislature Begun on the Fifth of January, 1852, and Ended on the Fourth Day of May, 1852, at the Cities of Vallejo and Sacramento* (San Francisco: G.K. Fitch & Co. and V.E. Geiger & Co., State Printers, 1852), 6.

<sup>15</sup> The formal title of the commission was the Commission to Ascertain and Settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California. *Alta California*, vol. 2, no. 207 (6 July 1851), 3. For an overview of the Land Act and subsequent court activity from 1851 to 1887, see *Los Angeles Star*, vol. 1, no. 1 (17 May 1851), 3; Paul Gates, "The California Act of 1851," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 50 (1971): 395-430. For a fuller description of the Foreign Miners' Tax, see Richard Henry Morefield, "Mexicans in the California Mines, 1848-54," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 35 (1956): 37-46. For a discussion of the Land Act and the subsequent squatters' movement, see *El Clamor Público*, vol. 1, no. 3 (3 July 1855), 3; Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios*, 83-119; Paul W. Gates, "California's Embattled Settlers," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (1962): 99-130.

<sup>16</sup> *El Clamor Público*, vol. 1, no. 6 (24 July 1855), 2. The common appellation of the "Greaser Law" came from the second section of Chapter CLXXV of the 1855 Statutes of California, "An Act to punish Vagrants, Vagabonds and Dangerous and Suspicious Persons. . . . Sec. 2. All persons who are commonly known as 'Greasers' or the issue of Spanish and Indian blood, who may come within the provisions of the first section of this Act, and who go armed and are not known to be peaceable and quiet persons, and who can give no good account of themselves, may be disarmed by any lawful officer, and punished otherwise as provided in the foregoing section." The punishment consisted of jail and hard labor not to exceed ninety days. *The Statutes of California Passed at the Sixth Session* (Sacramento: B.B. Redding, State Printer, 1855), 217. By 1856, Francisco P. Ramírez, editor of *El Clamor Público*, could speak familiarly about "la famosa 'ley de Greasers'" ("the famous 'Greaser Law'"), *El Clamor Público*, vol. 2, no. 13 (13 September 1856), 2.

<sup>17</sup> *El Clamor Público*, vol. 1, no. 45 (3 May 1856), 2; vol. 2, no. 32 (7 February 1857), 3; vol. 1, no. 12 (4 September 1855), 2. Peyton Hurt provided an in-depth analysis of the

Know-Nothings' goals of denying citizenship to "foreign born persons" and Catholics in his article "The Rise and Fall of the Know-Nothings in California." *California Historical Society Quarterly* 9 (1930): 16-49, 99-128.

<sup>18</sup> *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 1 (29 March 1862), 2. The chronology of events during the French Intervention is fairly agreed upon by Mexican, French, and U.S. scholarship, e.g., Manuel J. Sierra, *A cien años del Cinco de Mayo de 1862* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 1962); Jean Avenel, *La Campagne du Mexique (1862-1867): La Fin de l'hégémonie européenne en Amérique du Nord* (Paris: Ed. Economica, 1966); Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Napoleon III and Mexico: American Triumph over Monarchy* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1971). Over time, however, these events have come to be interpreted differently. For over a century, the French Intervention was treated by Mexican historians as an externally imposed event, with little or no consequence to Mexican society and policy; see Vicente Riva Palacio, ed., *México a través de los siglos*, 5 vols. (Mexico City: Ballesca y Cia., 1884-89) for a commonly cited interpretation. More recent work has challenged the notion that the French Intervention was an anomalous event and seeks to view it instead as part of a larger Mexican political and social history; see, for example, Erika Pani, *El Segundo Imperio: Pasados de usos múltiples* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 17 (6 May 1862), 2; vol. 1, no. 14 (29 April 1862), 2; vol. 1, no. 20 (13 May 1862), 2; "ultrajes de que han sido víctima los subditos franceses," vol. 1, no. 21 (15 May 1862), 2; "sus consejos y sus apoyo moral [que] se prestaría a los pueblos, pero que la violencia y la fuerza material, jamás," *ibid.*; vol. 1, no. 24 (22 May 1862), 2; "sin encontrar mucha oposición," vol. 1, no. 25 (24 May 1862), 2.

<sup>20</sup> *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 15 (1 May 1862), 2; vol. 1, no. 30 (5 June 5, 1862), 2; vol. 1, no. 31 (7 June 1862), 1; vol. 1, no. 32 (10 June 1862), 1-2; vol. 1, no. 26 (27 May 1862), 2; "¡¡Viva Méjico! ¡¡Viva la Independencia! ¡¡Vivan los valientes soldados Mejicanos! ¡¡Viva el Heróico General Zaragoza y sus Compañeros!!" vol. 1, no. 26 (27 May 1862), 2; "nuestro triunfo contra los franceses," vol. 1, no. 31 (7 June 1862), 2.

<sup>21</sup> *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 33 (12 June

1862), 2; "¿No sería conveniente que en California se hiciera alguna demostración del aprecio que merecen los valientes que han derramado su sangre en defensa de la patria?" vol. 1, no. 35 (17 June 1862), 2; vol. 1, no. 62 (21 August 1862), 2.

<sup>22</sup> "Donativos para el socorro de los heridos, inválidos y personas que queden en la horfandad por consecuencia de la guerra que sostiene Méjico contra Francia," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 55 (5 August 1862), 2; "abriendo una nueva suscripción a beneficio de los hospitales del ejército nacional . . . a nombre de todo patriota mexicano residente en California," vol. 1, no. 62 (23 August 1862), 2.

<sup>23</sup> *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 56 (7 August 1862), 2; vol. 5, no. 700 (13 October 1866), 1; vol. 2, no. 263 (10 December 1863), 2; vol. 2, no. 206 (28 July 1863), 2.

<sup>24</sup> *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 84 (14 October 1862), 2; "... Los mejicanos residentes en este país han organizado juntas patrióticas con el fin de recojer donativos para el benemérito ejército de Oriente," vol. 1, no. 129 (27 January 1863), 1. Rodríguez served as editor of *La Voz de Méjico* from March 1862 to June 1863 and as treasurer of the Junta Central Directiva from November 1862 to February 1865. *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 1 (29 March 1862), 1; vol. 1, no. 96 (11 November 1862), 2; vol. 2, no. 185 (9 June 1863), 1; *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 2, no. 154 (22 February 1865), 2.

<sup>25</sup> "Por disposición de la junta central, formada en esta ciudad, directiva de todas las demás," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 129 (27 January 1863), 1; "la primera y modesta ofrenda con que contribuimos para el sostén de la guerra," *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> "El ciudadano presidente [Juárez] se ha enterado con profunda satisfacción de la nota . . . del mes próximo pasado," *ibid.*; "La nota de esa Junta y esta contestación, se manden publicar para que la Nación toda aprecie en su justo valor el celo patriótico de sus buenos hijos en la Alta California," *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> "Hemos creído conveniente nombrar una junta aprovechando los loables sentimientos de nuestros compatriotas en este Condado, para que cada cual, según sus proporciones, pueda inscribirse con la cuota mensual que juzgue conveniente," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 88 (23 October 1862), 2; "inscribirse con sus cuotas mensuales para los fines ya propuestos; lo que se efectuó en seguida," *ibid.*

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<sup>28</sup> "El 4° dice que es obligatorio para los miembros el pagar sus cuotas; presumimos que esta obligación es meramente moral, pues no nos parece conveniente que se les estreche instándolos demasiado," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 98 (15 November 1862), 2.

<sup>29</sup> "Inmediatamente dispuso la Junta comisionar a dos señoras para coleccionar donativos voluntarios entre las señoras de esta capital... y fueron elegidas Doña Josefa Cienfuegos y Doña Altagracia Liceo," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 103 (27 November 1862), 2; vol. 1, no. 95 (9 November 1862), 2.

<sup>30</sup> *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 5, no. 324 (6 April 1866), 2.

<sup>31</sup> "¿Porque el presidente, D. Jose de la Rosa ordene al tesorero interino, D. Jose de la Rosa que dé una cuenta del ingreso y egreso que ha tenido la tesorería de su cargo? ... El cargo de presidente con el del tesorero son incompatibles en toda sociedad bien organizada. ¿Que se diría si el presidente de una república fuese también ministro de la hacienda?" *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 5, no. 313 (12 March 1866), 1.

<sup>32</sup> "Los mexicanos, que actualmente vivimos aquí, somos pobres, que ganamos la subsistencia con el sudor de nuestro trabajo; pero nos hemos organizado en Sociedades Patrióticas," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 97 (13 November 1862), 2.

<sup>33</sup> "No haber una de las señoras que supiese escribir," *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 5, no. 308 (28 February 1866), 2; "otra persona que desempeñara el cargo," *ibid*; "A continuación pongo los nombres de los que no saben firmar pero que estuvieron conformes..." followed by the names of twenty-one such illiterate members, *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 4, no. 286 (8 January 1866), 2.

<sup>34</sup> "Viven de su trabajo. Entre ellos no hay grandes capitalistas ni ricos comerciantes. Casi todos son artesanos, labradores, mineros que ganan poco y que imponen privaciones a sus familias, para enviar sus donativos en defensa de su patria," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 134 (10 February 1863), 1; "Han seguido organizándose juntas patrióticas en todos los pueblos," *ibid*.

<sup>35</sup> The southern district of the gold-mining region included Mariposa, Tuolumne, and Calaveras counties. J.S. Holliday, *Rush for Riches: Gold Fever and the Making of California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 168. Six juntas were organized outside of California, in Virginia City, Silver

City, Gullimoque, Reese River, and Austin in Nevada, and in The Dalles in Oregon.

<sup>36</sup> This number is provisional. Continuing research very well may bring to light new information concerning junta membership. In addition, variants of the spellings of personal names may come to be clarified once additional data, such as birth, marriage, and death records, have been analyzed. Most likely, this provisional number will change as new sources of information become available.

Each time a junta published a subscription list or a letter signed by the general membership, the names thus published were entered into the data set, along with any detailed information provided in a given list: the location of the junta, the subscriber's nationality (e.g., Chileno, Californio), gender, age, amount donated, and the issue of the newspaper containing the name. A total of 27,474 names were identified by this process. This initial list, however, contained many duplicate names. For example, if a person donated five times in a year, his or her name appeared five times in our list. We removed such duplicate mentions, arriving at 13,855 unduplicated names as of July 1, 2006. This number is the universe of junta membership used in the remainder of this article.

<sup>37</sup> "No ha publicado las actas y varios documentos que le hemos mandado," *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 2, no. 152 (17 February 1865), 2; *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 98 (15 November 1862), 2.

<sup>38</sup> *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 4, no. 266 (15 November 1865), 2.

<sup>39</sup> Hubert H. Bancroft, "History of California, vol. 5, 1846–1848," *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, vol. 22. rpt. ed. (Boston: Eliabron Classics, 2004), 643; William Marvin Mason, *The Census of 1790: A Demographic History of Colonial California* (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena, 1998), 114; Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California: An Analysis of Immigration, 1848–1870," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 19 (1940), 324–25; Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans in California* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser, 1984), 14.

<sup>40</sup> "Nos escriben de Los Angeles que también por aquella parte del estado de California hay malos mexicanos que simpatizan con los invasores franceses," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 46 (15 July 1862), 2; vol. 2, no. 218 (25 August 1863), 2; vol. 2, no.

221 (1 September 1863), 2; vol. 3, no. 401 (1 November 1864), 2. From the juntas' exhortations to their members regarding various issues, it is evident that there was a wide variety of Latino political opinion about the American Civil War, the French Intervention in Mexico, and political participation in California.

<sup>41</sup> While the work of making Latino population estimates has only begun, a hint at the order of magnitude of growth can be appreciated in Mariposa County. An interpolation between the 1860 and 1870 censuses suggests an estimated 326 Latino male adults, fifteen years of age and older, living in that county in 1863. For the same year, the junta patriótica records published in *La Voz de Méjico* show 356 Latino adult male members, about 10 percent more than census records would indicate. In addition, as described above, not all Latino males would have wanted to join a junta. Some likely were Confederate sympathizers, others would have been supporters of the French Intervention, and still others would not have been able to donate one dollar per month; so these 356 male members were only a fraction of the total Latino male population. The question is: what fraction? Applying the proportions of participation in the American Revolution—one-third of the population supported the cause, one-third were neutral, and one-third opposed it (Center of Military History, *American Military History* [Washington, D.C.: United States Army, 1989], 53)—would give an estimated Latino adult male population for Mariposa County of around 1,000. This is far larger than the census figures of 1860 or 1870. While precise population estimates are currently still being developed, it is reasonable to assume that the Latino population grew from five- to tenfold in the period 1848–63. While it was a minority of the total state population—an interpolated 434,069 in 1863—it nonetheless was a substantial minority, possibly even the largest minority in the state at that time. Future work will provide more definitive estimates.

<sup>42</sup> "Esta junta... no será exclusivamente de ciudadanos mexicanos, sino que serán invitados... a todos los hijos de las demás Republicas Americanas," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 1, no. 82 (9 October 1862), 2; vol. 3, no. 340 (9 June 1864), 2; vol. 3, no. 325 (5 May 1864), 2; "Mejicanos, chilenos, peruanos, colombianos, neogranadinos y todos los hijos de la América Latina, los heroes y mártires de nuestra independencia nos



gritan desde el sepulcro," vol. 2, no. 232 (29 September 1863), 2.

<sup>43</sup> "Inadvertidamente invitamos a los mejicanos solamente, en la convocatoria que publicamos en nuestro numero anterior. Hoy la hacemos para el día citado a los mejicanos y demás hispano-americanos en general . . . en este país, al decir hispano-americano, no vemos donde nació, sino que nos damos un abrazo como hermanos . . . hemos sentido nuestra inadvertencia," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 3, no. 313 (7 April 1864), 2.

<sup>44</sup> *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 2, no. 201 (16 July 1863), 2.

<sup>45</sup> *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 2, no. 160 (8 March 1865), 2; vol. 2, no. 168 (27 March 1865), 2.

<sup>46</sup> "En diez y siete meses no dejamos pasar uno solo sin presentar nuestra modesta ofrenda en auxilio de los que tan heroicamente defienden la causa común . . .," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 4, no. 505 (8 July 1865), 2. Higuera's statement of seventeen consecutive monthly donations contrasts with the total of four published lists encountered in both *La Voz de Méjico* and *El Nuevo Mundo*. This gap gives an order-of-magnitude idea of the under-reporting of junta activities in the available sources.

<sup>47</sup> "Solicitemos por una disposición firmada de todos, y dirigida a Presidente C. Benito Juárez; suplicándole que sean admitidos nuestros votos en la próxima elección, aprovechando la buena disposición de nuestro cónsul D. Jose Antonio Godoy que tiene para elevar nuestra disposición," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 3, no. 505, (8 July 1865), 2; Francisco Robles Nava, "Aprueban el voto de los mexicanos en el extranjero," *La Opinión* (23 February 2005): 1A, 10A.

<sup>48</sup> *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 4, no. 610 (15 March 1866), 1. González Ortega called Juárez's postponement an "acto inconstitucional," a challenge for which he was arrested in 1866. This issue caused the first serious split in the liberal ranks; as soon as the republic was restored in 1867, Juárez found himself challenged by numerous former allies turned opponents, such as Porfirio Díaz, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, and José María Iglesias. See Paul Garner, *Porfirio Díaz: del héroe al dictador* (Mexico City: Editorial Planeta Mexicana, 2003), 59.

<sup>49</sup> *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 6, no. 496 (29 June 1867), 2; "Los mejicanos leales residentes en San Francisco, eleven al C. presidente de la República Benito Juárez, manifestándole

la satisfacción con que se han impuesto del decreto espedido en el Paso del Norte el 8 de Noviembre del año ultimo, resolviendo se prorogue el término que para desempeñar la suprema magistratura de la nación, señala el código fundamental, hasta que el estado de guerra que actualmente se sostiene contra el invasor extranjero, permita hacer la elección constitucional," vol. 4, no. 286 (8 January 1866), 1; vol. 5, no. 306 (28 February 1866), 2.

<sup>50</sup> Gary W. Gallagher, Stephen D. Engle, Robert D. Krick, and Joseph T. Glatthaar, *The American Civil War: The Mighty Scourge of War* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003), 273-74; "A los Hispano-Americanos que tengan voto en California. Se acerca la hora en que sois llamados a hacer uso de vuestros derechos de ciudadanos americanos, y a decidir el destino de la contienda que durante cuatro años ha derramado la sangre y los tesoros del país en una guerra promovida y comenzada por los traidores del Sur. . . Geo. B. McClelland era entonces, y siempre ha sido, un traidor; peor que Almonte y Marquez," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 3, no. 394 (15 October 1864), 1; vol. 3, no. 403 (5 November 1864), 2.

<sup>51</sup> "Estos fondos serán destinados exclusivamente, para socorrer a los desgraciados de enfermedad, prisión o muerte . . . si alguno de sus socios cayere en prisión, el Club procurará su libertad. . .," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 5, no. 626 (21 April 1866), 2.

<sup>52</sup> Velázquez claimed that his friends had refused to aid or help him because he was an Indian: "Sus amigos habían rehusado socorrerlo o ayudarlo porque era Indio," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 3, no. 394 (15 October 1864), 2. It is interesting that Velázquez's indigenous background was explicitly mentioned. Such mention provides an indication of the cosmopolitan nature of junta membership. It may also hint at internal ethnic prejudice among Latino miners.

<sup>53</sup> "En virtud de haber dirigido el reo una petición a dicha junta, solicitando de sus miembros, que en obsequio de la justicia, se sirvan contribuir de alguna manera a salvarlo de la innmerceda pena que la ley mal administrada le impone," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 3, no. 379 (10 September 1864), 2; "Tal eficiencia por parte del Sr. Pacheco, será agradecida por todos los mejicanos a cuyo conocimiento llegue esta noticia," vol. 3, no. 384 (22 September 1864), 2; ". . . Damos las gracias al Sr. General Vega y a los demás amigos y caballeros que al momento que supieron que un mejicano sufría bajo el

peso horrible de una sentencia de muerte, no han omitido sacrificio alguno por tener la satisfacción de salvarlo, o a lo menos que un rayo de consuelo penetrar en la oscura prisión de Ramon Velázquez," vol. 3, no. 394 (15 October 1864), 2.

<sup>54</sup> "Las juntas patrióticas pueden hacer mucho bien aun a los mismos mejicanos que residen en este país . . .," *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 2, no. 134 (6 January 1865), 2; "Las asociaciones patrióticas son . . . para prestarnos mútuo auxilio . . . para que en todos y cada uno de los socios se vea mas que un amigo, un hermano," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 3, no. 383 (20 September 1864), 2.

<sup>55</sup> "Los mejicanos del Nuevo Almaden han proyectado establecer entre ellos una caja de ahorros, invirtiendo los fondos de cada cual pueda economizar, en establecer y surtir una tienda de provisiones de primera necesidad," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 3, no. 339 (7 June 1864), 2; "Nos unamos, para que con un poco de sacrificio formemos una asociación . . .," *ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> "Luego que se tenga noticia que algún socio está enfermo, el presidente nombrará una comisión compuesta de tres individuos, que pase a casa del paciente no solo a visitarlo en nombre del Club sino a ofrecerle los servicios de la Sociedad," *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 2, no. 150 (13 February 1865), 2; "Para que dicha propiedad . . . sea el primer escalón al fomento del grandioso pensamiento y realización de la beneficencia mutua ya para que sirva de asilo a la desgracia, a la miseria y a la indigencia," vol. 4, no. 256 (23 October 1865), 2; "En caso de muerte, todos los socios del Club acompañarán el cadáver hasta su ultima morada . . .," vol. 2, no. 150 (13 February 1865), 2.

<sup>57</sup> "Los auxilios del Club Patriótico Mejicano y demás hispano-americanos residentes en este lugar," *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 5, no. 321 (30 March 1866), 2; "Fue acompañado su cadáver hasta el cementerio," *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> "Se encuentra postrada por una enfermedad y sin recursos, implora la piedad cristiana de todas las personas de corazón que quieran auxiliarla en su triste estado," *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 5, no. 302 (14 February 1866), 2; vol. 5, no. 314 (14 March 1866), 2.

<sup>59</sup> "Se hallaba paralizado, a consecuencia de haber abandonado el punto, la mayor parte de los socios que lo componían por no tener en que trabajar, que es el único recurso con que cuentan los mejicanos industriuos en

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este pueblo," *El Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 6, no. 402 (29 June 1867), 5; "Serán admitidos en este cuerpo todas las personas que se hallen en estado de trabajar, sin distinción de sexo, edad y nacionalidad, siendo hispanoamericano," *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 62.

<sup>61</sup> *Los Angeles Times* (26 September 1901), A5; (15 September 1903), 10; (18 September 1905), 13.

<sup>62</sup> David E. Hayes-Bautista and Cynthia L. Chamberlin, "Cinco de Mayo's First Seventy-Five Years in Alta California. From Spontaneous Behavior to Sedimented Memory, 1862 to 1937," *Southern California Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 23–64.

<sup>63</sup> Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 187–91; "De todas las haciendas y puntos del interior vinieron los californios y mejicanos y sus familias con sus vestidos de gala, para asistir a los actos públicos con que la Junta Patriótica quiso solemnizar los grandes recuerdos que este día evoca en la mente de los mejicanos," *La Voz de Méjico*, vol. 2, no. 237 (10 October 1863), 2.

<sup>64</sup> *Los Angeles Times* (17 September 1888), 10; *La Crónica* (4 September 1878), [4]; *Los Angeles Times* (17 September 1896), 10; *La Crónica* (3 September 1879), [4]; *Los Angeles Times* (22 December 1894), 12, (18 September 1888), 8, (7 October 1928), C27, (16 January 1927), 18; *La Crónica* (20 September 1873), [3]; *Los Angeles Times* (27 August 1916), 117, (17 September 1902), A7.

MARY AUSTIN AND ANDREW FORBES:  
POETRY, PHOTOGRAPHY, AND THE  
EASTERN SIERRA, PP 24–43

Caption sources: Mary Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, *Earth Horizon*, and *The Children Sing in the West*; Mary Austin Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, AU 465; Sue Irwin, *California's Eastern Sierra: A Visitor's Guide* (Los Olivos, CA: Cachuma Press, 2002); National Cowboy Museum; Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County; Jeff Putman and Genny Smith, eds., *Deepest Valley: A Guide to the Owens Valley* (Mammoth Lakes, CA: Genny Smith Books, 1995).

<sup>1</sup> Mary Austin, *The Land of Little Rain* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1903), 205; Mary Austin, *Earth Horizon* (New York: The Literary Guild, 1932), 233.

<sup>2</sup> Ann H. Zwinger, ed., *Mary Austin and John Muir: Writing the Western Landscape* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), ix–x. The Mary Austin Collection at the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California, contains 5,500 pieces by and about Austin. Among them is a 5 x 9 inch red and black composition notebook with lined paper, of the type students used at the turn of the century. On the front appears the inscription, "This book was used by me in Inyo. Poems being copied in it as they were written. M.A." (AU 381) Some of the twenty-six poems in the notebook have never appeared in print. The Mary Austin Collection also includes other published and unpublished poems from this period that complement Austin's depictions of the Eastern Sierra in *The Land of Little Rain* and in her autobiography, *Earth Horizon*. In addition, microfilm issues of the Eastern Sierra newspaper of the period, the *Inyo Independent*, located at the Inyo County Library in Independence, contain new information about Austin's life.

<sup>3</sup> See Sheldon Russell, *Dreams to Dust: A Tale of the Oklahoma Land Rush* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006); William Willard Howard, "The Rush to Oklahoma," *Harper's Weekly* 33 (May 18, 1889): 391–94, and Seth K. Humphrey, *Following the Prairie Frontier* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1931). Some of Forbes' images of the Cherokee Strip Land Run are housed in the Robert E. Cunningham Oklahoma History Collection at the Donald C. & Elizabeth M. Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City.

There are 2,800 negatives of western subjects in the Forbes Collection at the Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. One thousand of them are glass plate negatives, including Forbes' 6 x 8 inch and 8 x 10 inch glass negatives of the Eastern Sierra; 400 are Forbes' panoramic views; and there are hundreds of photographs and postcards. All of Forbes' panoramas, prints, postcards, and negatives may total as many as 5,000 images, but there is a significant amount of duplication. Although the Seaver Center has processed prints of some of the negatives, less than 1 percent of the photographs in the Forbes collection have been published.

There is no published biography on Forbes. The most complete biographical information about Forbes is in a dissertation by Sharon E. Dean, "Vision, Social Change,

and the American West: The Photographs of Andrew A. Forbes (1862–1921)," New School University, 2002.

<sup>4</sup> Mary Austin, *The Children Sing in the Far West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), vii.

<sup>5</sup> Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 233.

<sup>6</sup> Sue Irwin, *California's Eastern Sierra: A Visitor's Guide* (Los Olivos, CA: Cachuma Press, 1992), 38–39, 41–42.

<sup>7</sup> Dean, "Vision, Social Change, and the American West," 61. Dean notes Forbes' date of birth as April 21, 1862 as does Jon Bosak, "Andrew A. Forbes—Photographs of the Owens Valley Paiute," *The Journal of California Anthropology* 2, no. 1 (Summer 1975): 38–59. "A Genealogy of the Descendants of John Forbes who came to America in 1840," located in the Andrew A. Forbes' file at the Eastern California Museum (unpublished, no date), notes the date as April 18, 1862.

<sup>8</sup> "A Genealogy of the Descendants of John Forbes," 9; the photographer I. H. Bonsall had a studio in Arkansas City, Kansas, near the Oklahoma border; Dean, "Vision, Social Change, and the American West," 62; "Forbes, Andrew Alexander 1862–1921," The Handbook of Texas Online, Texas State Historical Association website, <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online>, accessed September 24, 2007.

<sup>9</sup> Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 231.

<sup>10</sup> Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 234; *The Land of Little Rain*, 205. Austin spells the Paiute name for Lone Pine Mountain "Opopago" in *Earth Horizon* and "Oppapago" in *The Land of Little Rain*.

<sup>11</sup> Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, 257.

<sup>12</sup> The 1894 poem "The Coming of the Snow" was revised and copied into Austin's composition notebook as "Sierra Snows." It was published as "Snow" in *The Children Sing in the Far West*, 47–49.

<sup>13</sup> Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, 159, 158, 146, 148.

<sup>14</sup> "A Twilight Hill" was revised for publication in *The Land of Sunshine* 14, no. 3 (March 1901): 181. It also appeared in Austin's composition notebook.

<sup>15</sup> Esther Lanigan Stineman, *Mary Austin: Song of a Maverick* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 64.

<sup>16</sup> Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 112–13; *The Land of Little Rain*, 219.



<sup>17</sup> "Blue-Eyed Grass," written in 1904, was published in *The Children Sing in the Far West*, 86. Blue-Eyed Grass actually is not a grass, but its stalks resemble strands of grass with tiny blue buds at the tips. White yarrow has clusters of white flowers. There are many varieties of milkweed, some with creamy-white and maroon blossoms. Thousands of monarch butterflies come to the Eastern Sierra each year to deposit their eggs under the leaves.

<sup>18</sup> Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 284.

<sup>19</sup> Karen S. Langlois, "Mary Austin and Houghton Mifflin Company: A Case Study in the Marketing of a Western Writer," *Western American Literature* 23, no. 1 (May 1988): 41.

<sup>20</sup> Examples of Yosemite images by Charles L. Weed and Carleton E. Watkins are in the Early Landscape Photography of the American West collection at the New York Public Library.

<sup>21</sup> Kate Nearpass Ogden, "Sublime Vistas and Scenic Backdrops: Nineteenth-Century Painters and Photographers at Yosemite," *California History* 69, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 147; *Inyo Independent*, vol. 36, no. 8 (29 July 1904) and vol. 37, no. 36 (9 February 1906).

<sup>22</sup> *Inyo Independent*, vol. 34, no. 19 (17 October 1902); vol. 34, no. 20 (24 October 1902); vol. 34, no. 22 (7 November 1902); vol. 34, no. 37 (20 February 1903); vol. 34 no. 47 (1 May 1903); vol. 35, no. 23 (13 November 1903); and vol. 35, no. 26 (4 December 1903).

<sup>23</sup> "Illustrated Catalog of Forbes Studio," Andrew A. Forbes Collection (n.d.), Seaver Center for Western History Research.

<sup>24</sup> Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 296.

<sup>25</sup> "We'll Get Our Share," *Inyo Independent*, vol. 31, no. 39 (9 March 1900).

<sup>26</sup> Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, 207.

<sup>27</sup> *Inyo Independent*, vol. 33, no. 49 (16 May 1902) and vol. 34, no. 20 (24 October 1902).

<sup>28</sup> Austin, *The Children Sing in the Far West*, 25.

<sup>29</sup> Harry W. Lawton, Philip J. Wilke, Mary DeDecker, and William M. Mason, "Agriculture Among the Paiute of Owens Valley," *Journal of California Anthropology* 3, no. 1 (1976): 13-50, cited in Sharon E. Dean, Peggy S. Ratcheson, Judith W. Finger, Ellen F. Daus with Craig D. Bates, *Weaving a Legacy: Indian Baskets & the People of Owens Valley, California* (Salt Lake City: University

of Utah Press, 2004), 1; Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, 163.

<sup>30</sup> Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, 174, 177; Karen S. Langlois, "A Fresh Voice from the West: Mary Austin, California, and American Literary Magazines," *California History* 69, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 28-32.

<sup>31</sup> Mary Austin, "The Song-Makers," *North American Review* 194 (August 1911): 239-47. In the poem, according to Austin, "Waban" is the Paiute word for "mountain."

<sup>32</sup> Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 246; Bosak, "Andrew A. Forbes," 42; Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, 168.

<sup>33</sup> Bosak, "Andrew A. Forbes," 41.

<sup>34</sup> In 2002, two of Forbes' panoramic photographs were put up at auction; the Fred Holabird Americana's Reno Coin & Stamp Show Auction #13, June 14-15, 2002. One, an unsigned panorama of the Bishop area circa 1910, shows cowboys herding cattle on a ranch against a backdrop of the snow-capped Sierra Nevada. At the right is the town of Bishop; at the left is Lone Pine. The view is to the west-southwest. The other, a signed panorama of the Bishop area circa 1910, shows a herd of grazing sheep on a ranch with Bishop and the White Mountains in the background. It was taken west of Bishop with Boundary Peak, the highest mountain in Nevada (elevation 14,242 feet), at the left and Westgard Pass at the right. In addition, three picture postcards were put up at auction at the Fred Holabird Americana's Auction #15 on September 13, 2002.

<sup>35</sup> Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, 258, 205, 184.

<sup>36</sup> *Inyo Independent*, vol. 36, no. 6 (15 July 1904) and vol. 36, no. 8 (29 July 1904).

<sup>37</sup> Mary Austin to Eve Lummis, 27 July [1905], University of Arizona, Tucson Special Collections Library; Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, 186-87, 212.

<sup>38</sup> Mary Austin Collection, AU 57.

<sup>39</sup> Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 235.

<sup>40</sup> Austin, *The Land of Little Rain*, 157; *Earth Horizon*, 250.

<sup>41</sup> Austin, *The Children Sing in the Far West*, 62-65. In the poem, "Southland" refers not to southern California, but to the Owens Valley. Austin observed that "The carrion crow is larger and glossier than the common crow. Both he and the buzzard will hang on the trail of a flock or a herd for days, on the chance of one falling out to

die" (Austin, *The Children Sing in the Far West*, 179).

<sup>42</sup> "Hallowe'en Party," *Inyo Independent*, vol. 35, no. 22 (6 November 1903).

<sup>43</sup> *Inyo Register* (20 July 1905) and *Inyo Independent*, vol. 37, no. 7 (21 July 1905), cited in Dean, "Vision, Social Change, and the American West," 218. Following decades of litigation, in December 2006 Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa stood at the now bone-dry banks of the Owens River as water flowed into the river, part of a court-mandated river and wetland restoration project.

<sup>44</sup> For further discussion of the events leading up to and following the building of the aqueduct, see Catherine Mulholland, *William Mulholland and the Rise of Los Angeles*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); R. A. Sauder, *The Lost Frontier: Water Diversion in the Growth and Destruction of Owens Valley Agriculture* (Tucson: The University of Arizona, 1994); William L. Kahrl, *Water and Power: The Conflict over Los Angeles' Water Supply in the Owens Valley* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); John Walton, *Western Times and Water Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

<sup>45</sup> *Inyo Register* (3 August 1905); Dean, "Vision, Social Change, and the American West," 220-21.

<sup>46</sup> Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 307.

<sup>47</sup> Kahrl, *Water and Power*, 131. For further discussion of Mary and Wallace Austin's protest of the Los Angeles Aqueduct Project, see Abraham Hoffman, *Vision or Villainy: Origins of the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Water Controversy* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981).

<sup>48</sup> Helen McKnight Doyle, *Mary Austin: Woman of Genius* (New York: Gotham House, 1939), 218.

<sup>49</sup> Wallace S. Austin to George C. Pardee, 24 September 1905, National Archives, Reclamation Service, General File 1902-1919, Record Group 115, File 63-B, "Correspondence re Right of Way Applications in Owens River Valley," quoted in Kahrl, *Water and Power*, 134.

<sup>50</sup> *Inyo Independent*, vol. 37, no. 41 (16 March 1906).

<sup>51</sup> Kahrl, *Water and Power*, 146.

<sup>52</sup> *Inyo Independent*, vol. 37, no. 36 (9 February 1906).

# NOTES

<sup>53</sup> From "Snow," in Austin, *The Children Sing in the Far West*, 47–49. In the poem, "hoar pine" refers to a pine that is covered with silvery, frozen dew or "hoarfrost." The tamarack is a lodgepole pine, and spruce and mountain hemlock are also trees that grow in the Eastern Sierra.

## THE LAND OF BIG SUR: CONSERVATION ON THE CALIFORNIA COAST BY JOHN WALTON, PP 44–64

I am grateful to several organizations for their assistance in the preparation of this article, including the Big Sur Historical Society, the Monterey County Public Library, the Monterey County Historical Society, The Big Sur Land Trust, and the University of California, Davis. Thanks especially to Jeff Norman, Dave Egbert, Dennis Copeland, Zad Leavy, Stacy Schmidt, Cynthia Holmsky, Nikki Nedeff, Mary Anne Teed, Francis "Skip" Lloyd, and Bill McCloud.

<sup>1</sup> Henry Miller, *Big Sur and the Oranges of Hieronymus Bosch* (New York: New Directions Publishing, 1957), 26.

<sup>2</sup> Donald Thomas Clark, *Monterey County Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Carmel Valley, CA: Kestrel Press, 1991), 38.

<sup>3</sup> Tim Johnson, *The Selected Poetry of Robinson Jeffers* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 379; Francis McComas, quoted in Clark, *Monterey County Place Names*, 407; *Monterey County Herald*, November 22, 1904; Raymond F. Dasmann, *The Destruction of California* (New York: Collier Books, 1966).

<sup>4</sup> Lillian Bos Ross, *The Stranger in Big Sur* (Santa Barbara, CA: Capra Book, 1942); Paul Henson and Donald J. Usner, *The Natural History of Big Sur* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); an important recent study of environmental achievement is Richard A. Walker, *The Country in the City: The Greening of the San Francisco Bay Area* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007); L. Martin Griffin, *Saving the Marin-Sonoma Coast: The Battles for Audubon Canyon Ranch, Point Reyes, and California's Russian River* (Healdsburg, CA: Sweetwater Springs Press, 1998); Harold Gilliam, *Island in Time: The Point Reyes Peninsula* (New York: Sierra Club/Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962); Robert G. Healy, *Protecting the Golden Shore: Lessons for the California Coastal Commission* (Washington, DC: Conservation Foundation, 1978); Jared Orsi, "Restoring

the Common to the Goose: Citizen Activism and the Protection of the California Coastline," *Southern California Quarterly* 78 (1996): 256–65; John Walton, *Western Times and Water Wars: State, Culture, and Rebellion in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); John Hart, *Storm over Mono: The Mono Lake Battle and California's Water Future* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Orsi, "Restoring the Common to the Goose"; Griffin, *Saving the Marin-Sonoma Coast*; Daniel Press, *Saving Open Space: The Politics of Local Preservation in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 21–31.

<sup>6</sup> Although the Sierra Club endorsed the deal, other environmentalists question how effectively the ranch is protected and the extent of concessions allowed the Hearst Corporation for new building. See *New York Times*, September 20, 1904; *Monterey County Herald*, July 6 and July 17, 2003.

<sup>7</sup> John Woolfenden, *Big Sur: A Battle for the Wilderness, 1869–1981* (Carmel, CA: Boxwood Press).

<sup>8</sup> Gary S. Breschini and Trudy Haversat, *The Esselen Indians of the Big Sur Country* (Salinas, CA: Coyote Press, 2004), 1; Thomas Roy Hester, "Esselen," in Robert F. Heizer, *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, California* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 496–99; John Walton, *Storied Land: Community and Memory in Monterey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), chapter 2, "Spain's Far Frontier."

<sup>9</sup> Sam Trotter Mennoir, manuscript, Big Sur Historical Society, 65.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>11</sup> Monterey County Great Register, Monterey County Historical Society, Salinas, California; Tenth United States Census, 1880, Agricultural Production, Schedule 2, Partial Schedules for California (BMI Imaging Systems, Sacramento, CA); Twelfth United States Census, 1900, Manuscript Census, Monterey County, California.

<sup>12</sup> Jeff Norman, *The Big Sur Bohemians* (forthcoming); Johnson, *The Selected Poetry of Robinson Jeffers*, 581.

<sup>13</sup> Jeff Norman, interviews with the author, 2003. Norman, a Big Sur historian, was also a key informant for Clark's *Monterey County Place Names*.

<sup>14</sup> Norman, interview with the author, July 2003; Clark, *Monterey County Place Names*, 407–10.

<sup>15</sup> Correspondence in support of this observation appears in the files of The Big Sur Land Trust (cited hereafter as BSLT Files) and in press accounts of gifts such as William Garland's ranch willed to the Monterey Peninsula Regional Park District, *Monterey Herald*, May 2, 1976; Clark, *Monterey County Place Names*; Woolfenden, *Big Sur: A Battle for the Wilderness*; *Monterey County Herald*, April 18, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> See The Diary of Ellen Jane Swetnam, manuscript, Big Sur Historical Society; Rosalind Sharp Wall, *A Wild Coast and Lonely: Big Sur Pioneers* (San Carlos, CA: Wide World Publishing, 1989); Lloyd and Pat Addelman, interview with the author, September 2003; Norman, interview with the author, September 2003.

<sup>17</sup> See Woolfenden, *Big Sur: A Battle for the Wilderness*; Zad Leavy (Coastal Commission member and Executive Director, BSLT), interviews with the author, August and September 2003; Nathaniel Alexander Owings, *The Spaces Between: An Architect's Journey* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973); Margaret Wentworth Owings, *Voice from the Sea: Reflections on Wildlife and Wilderness* (Monterey, CA: Monterey Bay Aquarium Press, 1998).

<sup>18</sup> See *Monterey County Coast Master Plan*, Monterey County, CA, 1962.

<sup>19</sup> *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, August 12, 1961.

<sup>20</sup> *Big Sur Coast Land Use Plan*, Local Coastal Program, Monterey County, CA, 1986.

<sup>21</sup> West Marin has "about 150,000 acres of national, state, county, and city parks [which] make up the greatest wilderness park in the nation adjacent to a large metropolitan area" (Griffin, *Saving the Marin-Sonoma Coast*, 132); see also Walker, *The Country in the City*.

<sup>22</sup> Lawrence Halprin, *The Sea Ranch: Diary of an Idea* (Berkeley: Spacemaker Press, 2002); Donlyn Lydon and Jim Alinder, *The Sea Ranch* (New York: Princeton Architects Press, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> Janet Adams, "Proposition 20—A Citizens' Campaign," *Syracuse Law Review* 24, no. 3 (Summer 1973): 1019–46.

<sup>24</sup> Michael L. Fischer, "California's Coastal Program, Larger-than-Local Interests Built



into Local Plans," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1985): 312–21; Orsi, "Restoring the Common to the Goose"; *California Coastal Access Guide* (Berkeley: University of California Press and California Coastal Commission, 2003); Healy, *Protecting the Golden Shore*.

<sup>25</sup> See *Big Sur Coast Land Use Plan*.

<sup>26</sup> This and the following paragraphs rely on a set of interviews with Big Sur residents and members of the Citizens' Advisory Committee conducted in 2003 and supplemented by several published accounts from the period, including Ehud Yonay, "Big Sur, the Politics of Preservation," *New West* (December 22, 1980): 33–43; William Duddleson, "Protecting the Big Sur," *American Land Forum* (March/April, 1987): 28–45; Woolfenden, *Big Sur: A Battle for the Wilderness*.

<sup>27</sup> Alisa Fineman, "Where Extremes Meet: Local Perspectives on Preservation for Big Sur," thesis, Environmental Studies department,

University of California, Santa Cruz, 1984; *Monterey Herald*, April 20, 1980.

<sup>28</sup> This section is based on a set of videotape interviews with BSLT founders conducted in 2003 (now in the organization's archives) and BSLT Files (e.g., "A History of the Big Sur Land Trust").

<sup>29</sup> See the Land Trust Alliance website, [www.lta.org](http://www.lta.org), accessed September 10, 2007.

<sup>30</sup> *Big Sur Gazette*, August 13, 1979–September 10, 1979.

<sup>31</sup> *Master Plan*, Monterey Peninsula Regional Park District, October 1990.

<sup>32</sup> BSLT Files; *Monterey County Herald*, June 6, 1993.

<sup>33</sup> This and the following paragraphs are based, in part, on information from BSLT Files and on interviews with BSLT staff and with Karin Strasser Kaufman, District County Supervisor during this time.

<sup>34</sup> *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, August 21, 1981, and August 11, 1983.

<sup>35</sup> *Carmel Pine Cone*, May 17, 1984; *Monterey Herald*, October 10, 1984.

<sup>36</sup> *Carmel Pine Cone*, December 13, 1984, and April 4, 1985.

<sup>37</sup> *Carmel Pine Cone*, July 4, 1985, *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, July 10, 1985, and October 9, 1985.

<sup>38</sup> *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, October 9, 1985; see *Big Sur Coast Land Use Plan*; Leavy, interviews with the author, 2003–4.

<sup>39</sup> Daniel Press, "Local Open-Space Preservation in California," in Michael Kraft and Daniel A. Marmanian, *Toward Sustainable Communities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 153–83.

<sup>40</sup> *Monterey County Herald*, December 4, 1996.

<sup>41</sup> Ray Ring, "Write-off on the Range," *High Country News*, May 30, 2005; *Monterey County Herald*, November 22, 2004.

## Making San Francisco American Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846–1906

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## REVIEWS

EDITED BY JAMES J. RAWLS

### TESTIMONIOS: EARLY CALIFORNIA THROUGH THE EYES OF WOMEN, 1815–1848

*Translated with introduction and commentary by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2007, 512 pp., illus., \$27.50 cloth, \$18.95 paper)*

REVIEWED BY MIROSLAVA CHÁVEZ-GARCÍA, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF CHICANA/O STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS, AND AUTHOR OF *NEGOTIATING CONQUEST: GENDER AND POWER IN CALIFORNIA, 1770S TO 1880S*

MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED years after a number of Spanish-speaking women recorded their histories, or *testimonios*, with Hubert Howe Bancroft and his staff do we have a published collection of their narratives. *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815–1848* provides the recollections of thirteen Spanish-Mexican women who witnessed one of the most tumultuous periods in California history. In their lifetimes, most of these women saw the governance of the territory change hands twice, from Spanish to Mexican and then from Mexican to federal rule as part of the United States. They also viewed dramatic transformations in economy, law, and culture and experienced firsthand the impact of these changes on their personal lives, their family relations, and their ability to survive and prosper. As these documents demonstrate, most women learned how to adapt to their changing circumstances, yet ultimately, as the editors make clear, their strategies could not fend off the implications

of impoverishment and marginalization in an increasingly capitalist, Protestant, Euro-American-dominated society. Tragically, most women passed away in anonymity and as paupers.

These testimonios are available to us as a result of Hubert Howe Bancroft's interest in compiling a history of California. Bancroft and his staff were not particularly interested in using women as informants; they interviewed sixty-five men and only thirteen women, seeking out politically and economically influential individuals who could speak to the history of California under Spanish and Mexican rule. Although, like most historians, Bancroft privileged the written word, he and his staff recognized the value of oral tradition, particularly in a society where literacy was not well established and where few documents of historical interest survived. These reminiscences, then, provided an invaluable alternative source from which to gather historical insight, though much of it was based on what the male interviewers deemed significant, for they formulated the questions, controlled the conversations, and transcribed the women's words. Yet, as Rosaura Sánchez and other scholars have argued, these women did not simply recount "historical facts" as Bancroft wished to gather them but, rather, inserted themselves as significant agents in history. Eulalia Pérez, for example, the famed *llavera*, or key-keeper, at Mission San Gabriel, inscribed herself in the mission's history as vital to the daily operations and, ultimately, the success of that coloniz-



ing institution. Her testimonio, while seemingly acquiescent to Bancroft's larger project, is resistant to the master/masculine narrative.

The diligence in collecting, translating, and publishing the testimonios is a testament to the efforts of the editors in assembling a treasure many people—scholars, students, and armchair historians—will appreciate. Historians of California's native, Chicana/o, and women's populations will find the testimonios informative and fresh in perspective, as well as practical for use in the classroom as primary sources. The editors also have provided a well-researched introduction framing the collection and mini-introductions to each narrative. Though only the English-language translations are presented, the editors indicate that the Bancroft Library will soon place the Spanish-language originals on the Web. As a student of nineteenth-century Mexican women's history in California, this reader was fascinated with the testimonios, as they pay tribute to the legacy of women and of the state's Spanish-speaking peoples.



## AFTER THE GOLD RUSH: TARNISHED DREAMS IN THE SACRAMENTO VALLEY

By David Vaught (Baltimore, MD:  
*The Johns Hopkins University Press*,  
2007, 328 pp., illus., \$55.00 cloth)

REVIEWED BY RALPH MANN, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, BOULDER, AND AUTHOR OF *AFTER THE GOLD RUSH: SOCIETY IN GRASS VALLEY AND NEVADA CITY, CALIFORNIA, 1849–1870*

THIS IS THE STORY of a small group of farmers who arrived at Putah Creek, west of Sacramento, just after the Gold Rush, and of their “entrepreneurial relentlessness” in the pursuit of agricultural riches despite repeated natural and man-made disasters. Quickly replicating the community structures of their native Midwest and embracing large-scale market wheat farming, they endured drought, flood, contested and fraudulent land claims, rapacious middlemen, collapsed Granger cooperatives, and consistent overproduction before new crops (raisins and almonds) brought stability and prosperity. The author attributes their “rural culture unlike any other in American history” to a transference of their inflated Gold Rush dreams; “they turned to agriculture and rural life with the same intensity of expectation that had brought them to California in the first place,” gambling on agriculture as they had on mining. [7]

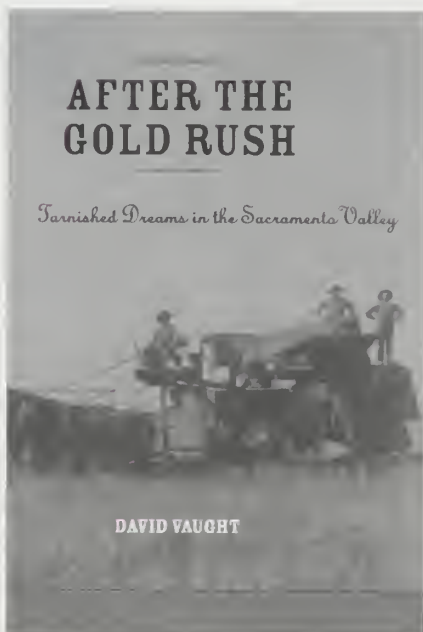
Vaught clearly demonstrates that the Putah Creek farmers relentlessly pursued wealth in wheat. Neither natural disaster nor the laws of supply and demand seemed to deter them, although one central character fled to

escape creditors and another committed suicide. Only with a new generation, new crops and market techniques, and a more farmer-friendly state constitution did long-term success become possible.

But this reviewer would give the author’s attempt to root the farmers’ persistence in Gold Rush psychology a Scots verdict: not proven. There is no direct statistical evidence that most of the farmers had participated in the Gold Rush. Of the four family biographies used to illustrate Putah Creek’s mining background, one forty-niner mined briefly before taking work in Sacramento. Another mined for a season and then was joined by his father and brothers for a second season, the father becoming a large farmer. One man came in 1850 and never mined, and a husband and wife came to Placerville in 1852 and mined for two years. Among Gold Rushers in general, most went home, but for those who

stayed in California, a season or two in the placers and then a return to the trade they had followed back home was pretty typical.

In general, Gold Rush memorialists portray themselves as practical young men looking for opportunity and a little adventure; although the experience is certainly something worth remembering, they very rarely, in this reviewer’s reading, sound as driven as Vaught’s model necessitates. And though there are a myriad of Gold Rush memoirs, not one of the Putah Creek farmers wrote about the experience, or even mentioned it when dictating a personal history for an 1879 Yolo County atlas. The author is left to speculate why “the defining moment of their life seemed never to happen” in these brief autobiographies. [181] That is, there is no direct evidence for the author’s central assertion. Still, he has written an excellent history of farming in the Sacramento Valley in the late nineteenth century.



## WELLS FARGO

By Dr. Robert J. Chandler (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006, 128 pp., illus., \$19.99 paper)

REVIEWED BY RICHARD H. DILLON, SUTRO LIBRARIAN EMERITUS AND AUTHOR OF *NAPA VALLEY HEYDAY*

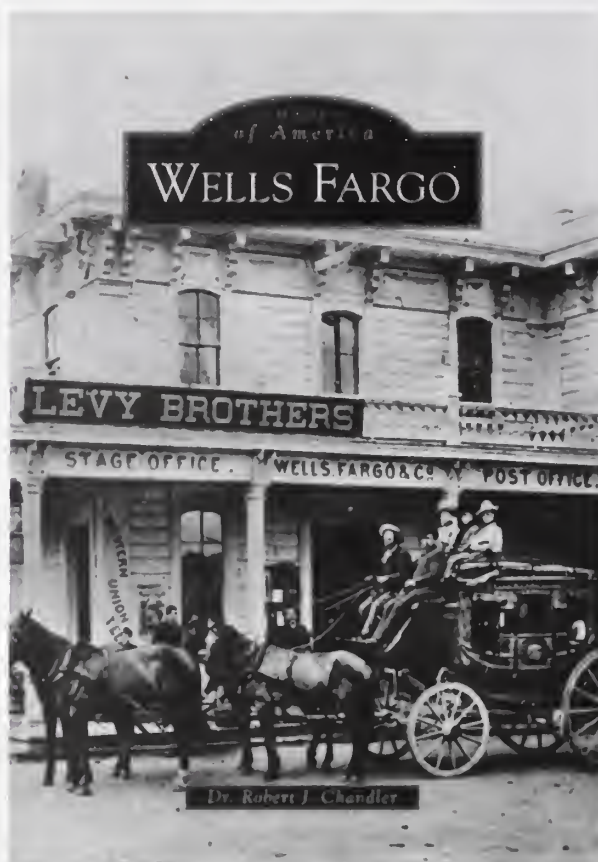
SOMETIMES, TRUISMS (so called) must be heavily discounted as clichés. But one of them, dating at least to the Ming dynasty, is dependable still: “a picture is worth a thousand words.”

## REVIEWS

Arcadia Publishing has taken the hoary saying to heart and has "run with it," to slip into modern lingo. The publisher's Images of America series is popular because, in many cases, pictures still speak louder than words. But the titles in this series, thus far, are valuable to local historians because their compilers have been careful in their selection of images from the past. (This is not always the case today. TV's historical documentaries are often flawed by the inclusion of dramatic pictures that have nothing to do with the subject at hand.) In addition, Arcadia's contributors have provided informative, not perfunctory, picture captions, and the images and captions carry the story more than the few full pages of text.

No one knows the Wells Fargo story better than Chandler. His task was to compress a lot of information into a small space. He succeeds admirably in tracing the evolution of a Gold Rush express company into a modern banking giant. Wells Fargo pioneered staging, as well as the express business, in the West. It came to rival the U.S. Post Office in the delivery of letters, carrying 75 percent of the mail by the 1860s.

Technically, this is business history, usually plagued by economics, the most dreadful of disciplines. But the firm begun by Henry Wells and William G. Fargo in 1852 has had such a rich human history that it is virtually unique among western companies. In 1857 it helped establish the Overland Mail Company, whose daring and skillful stagecoach drivers, like Hank Monk, along with the young riders of



the short-lived (1861) Pony Express, also operated by Wells Fargo, became our first celebrities.

Riding with the stage drivers were courageous "shotgun guards," men like Mike Tovey, who protected a coach's treasure box. Coping with road agents, as stage robbers like Black Bart were called, were company detectives led by Jim Hume, who pioneered modern techniques of detection in his office when he was not in the saddle assisting sheriffs and marshals in their duties as lawmen.

Wells Fargo welcomed the Iron Horse and steamboats, too. One Sacramento River steamer, the swift *Antelope*, carried so much bullion (Nevada silver as

well as California gold) that she was nicknamed the *Wells Fargo Gold Boat*.

In 1905 the express business was exiled to New York, but banking services remained in San Francisco. There they handily survived the seismic shocks and firestorm of 1906, just as the firm had weathered the financial panic of 1855 that shuttered the city's two other major banks. As of 1998, Wells Fargo was an interstate banker in twenty-three states.

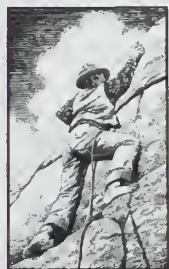
Here is the entire story, in brief, with many fine images of stagecoaching. Small wonder that the Concord coach has become the bank's logo.



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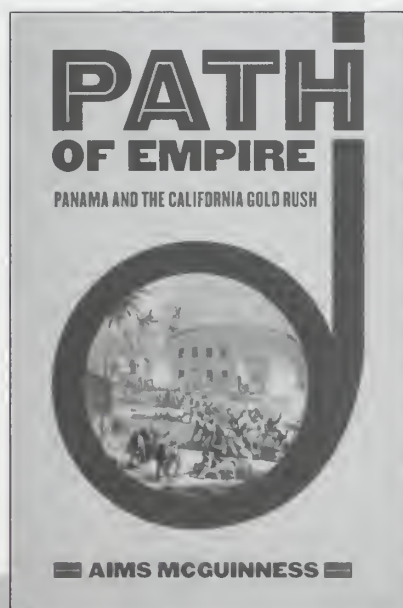
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# SPOTLIGHT

PHOTOGRAPHER  
Edward Weston

LOCATION  
Owens Valley



In March 1937 Edward Weston became the first photographer to receive a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship. The grant allowed Weston and his wife, Charis Wilson, to travel throughout California, where Weston made photographs of the state's divergent landscape. Ansel Adams brought Weston and Wilson to the Owens Valley, stating that no project on California would be complete without a photograph of Mount Whitney. Instead, Weston photographed the steel structure of a modern power line

surrounded by a grove of dead poplar trees near the town of Lone Pine. In her diary, Wilson refers to the Owens Valley as the "Los Angeles Desert." Weston certainly understood the term. He lived in the small Los Angeles suburb of Tropic (now the southern tip of the city of Glendale) between 1906 and 1923 and knew directly where the water and power of the Owens Valley had gone.

MICHAEL DAWSON

*Owens Valley, 1937*

Photograph by Edward Weston

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